

TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,

LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN THE

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

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THOSE COUNTRIES,

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MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOL. III.

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Continued.

VOL. III.

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Travels through Sweden.

Continued.

C H A P. I.

Journey from Lindsal to Hudwickswald—The Country, and the Husbandry carried on by the Peasants—Horsten—Description of M. de Verspot's fine Seat at Raversburgh—An Account of his very spirited Improvements.

IT was the evening of the 28th of June, before I arrived at Lindsal, which is a little inconsiderable village. From thence I set out next morning for Hudwickswald, the distance sixty miles, which proved a journey of two days. The night of the 1st I laid at Dilsbo; the country very wild and mountainous, like Dalecarlia, and not better cultivated; in some of the vales are small villages, the inhabitants of some of which have little farms, but, I do not think, are quite so industrious in the management of them, as their neighbours of Dalecarlia. Dilsbo stands on a river near the Baltic, and has a harbour, that admits ships of two hundred tons burthen, yet there is hardly any trade at it; now and then, a vessel comes for a load of timber, but it is seldom. From thence to

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Hudwickswald is through a flat country, pretty well cultivated, and the inhabitants much more industrious. I saw two or three large houses, surrounded by considerable farms; gentlemen's seats; and the owners seem to carry on a husbandry, equal to any thing, I have seen in Sweden in general. I found their crops, generally good; and the products rise, upon a medium of all sorts, to three or four quarters per acre: their dwarf beans are a favourite crop here, for I saw many fields of them; they do not grow more than a foot high. Another thing I found here, of which I had seen little before, which was, great plenty of trefoil; it is a sort, not common in England, tho' the blossom is yellow; they sow it among their corn, and for two or three years following mow or feed it; which appears to be the same system, as the culture of clover and trefoil in England, and also sainfoin. Artificial grasses I have very rarely seen in this kingdom, and there is certainly a reason for it; the great plenty of wild ground and marshes, on which the peasants depend for the subsistence of their cattle.

—Hudwickswald is extremely well situated for the Baltic trade; the harbour is spacious, safe, and admits ships of any burthen: there are a few merchants in the town, that are rich.

rich. They have a tolerable quay; they shewed me the church, which is usually exhibited to strangers, but contains not the least thing worthy of observation. Most of the streets are regular, clean, and some of them very neatly built.

Here I made enquiries after M. de Verspot, and found, after some difficulty, that I must take the road north to a village, called Tuna, and from thence follow a road, which runs westward near the river, on which Tuna stands, and in about five or six and thirty miles, I should come to a place called Horsten, near which, that gentleman's seat is.

The first of July I got to Tuna, the distance from Hudwickswald thirty-six miles. The country is various; parts of it marshy, and parts dry: a good deal of the latter is cultivated, but I saw no gentlemen's houses. I found, that many of the peasants here paid their rents in parts of the products of their land, and that their landlords stewards came in sloops from Stockholm, at a certain time of the year, to receive these products: this is reckoned here very advantageous to the landlords, for they have the corn, &c. at a much less calculated value, than what they sell it for at Stockholm, all expences reckoned; but at the same time, the peasants like it better, than

being forced to find the money, which is very scarce here. They cultivate large quantities of corn, and many turneps and carrots; and have the art of fattening oxen with these roots in winter, by boiling and mashing them, and then mixing some meal of barley or oats with them: with this food their oxen and their hogs fatten very quickly, and they reckon, if the crop of roots is good, it proves, in this way of using it, one of the best a farmer can cultivate. They do not use wood-ashes in this country, which is so principal a manure in most of the parts of Sweden, through which I have passed, but depend totally on dung, which they mix up with earth, and think, it thus exceeds any other manure, that can be had. The dung of swine they reckon the most powerful.

I reached Horsten the 2d; and, fixing my bed in the house of a civil peasant, made enquiries after M. de Verspot. I was informed, that he lived about eight miles from thence; that all Horsten belonged to him, and also many more villages in the neighbourhood:—that he had the greatest estate in this country; was infinitely beloved, being a good friend to all the peasants, and encouraging them in every thing. The 3d in the morning, I set out for his house, and got there by breakfast. I was introduced to him in company of his wife,
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and ~~for~~ or seven children of different ages; and delivering M. le Count de Roncellen's letter, he read it with seeming pleasure, and with the utmost politeness welcomed me to Ravelburg, the name of his seat. The Count had fully explained to him the motives of my travels through Sweden, which he was pleased to commend very much. He is a lusty man, of about fifty years of age, with a fine open, manly countenance, that prejudices one, at first sight, in his favour. He speaks French fluently; had been in England, but not long enough to learn the language. He made many enquiries after M. de Roncellen, and his improvements, while we breakfasted; said, that he had not been able of some years to pay him a visit, but that he hoped once more to have that pleasure if he lived. He told me, he had a packet for me, directed under my name, *An English gentleman on his travels through Sweden*. This he gave me in the afternoon, and I found it a letter from Baron Miftler at Stockholm, with cash to the amount of forty-seven pounds, the product of the sale of chaise and horses, which I thought a very good return in Sweden. M. de Verspot asked me concerning my route; and was much surprised, at finding that I had penetrated through the whole province of Delacarla. He said,

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it was a bold undertaking, and tho' he had travelled through most parts of Sweden, yet he had seen very little of that province. I gave him a cursory account of what I had remarked among the peasants there, with which he seemed to be pleased; and attended very much to what I mentioned of their husbandry. He said, that I had seen such great things at the Count de Roncellen's, that every thing, he could shew me, would appear small; tho' he had some improvements, which perhaps I might like to see, as I appeared to be fond of agriculture.

He then told me, that for twenty years he attended the government of Sweden, as a senator, and was long anxious to oppose a party, that seemed determined on the ruin of their country; but finding, after a struggle of many years, that the voice of prudence and moderation was so little listened to, he took a long farewell of them, and retired to this estate, determining to make a country life, which was before only a cessation from business, the only business of his life; and since he took that resolution, he has adhered to it without once quitting it; and from the factions, which have arisen since his departure, he has had continual reason to rejoice at the determination. He has found, in the obscurity of these
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mountains, a satisfaction, which the busiest scenes of Stockholm could never give. He applied himself to the study and practice of agriculture with great eagerness, and has always taken uncommon pleasure in trying various experiments on different articles of culture, to discover the most profitable application of the ground; and he has found, that the only way for a Swedish nobleman to be rich, or to improve his income in a manner that may bring no regret with his wealth, is the improvement of his estates. Nothing is so profitable, nor any thing, in Sweden at least, so honourable. He has been much ridiculed for giving up an attention to the government of his country, to retire and pass his days among peasants and boors. "But experience has told me," added M. de Verspot, "that my choice has been right; for I have increased my wealth at the same time, that I have improved the happiness of my life." This account, which he gave me in a pleasing candid manner, shewed me at once, that his ideas were congenial with those of the illustrious Roncellen.

He did not carry me to his improvements that day; but after breakfast he took a walk with me, which lasted till dinner; in which I viewed the grounds around his house, the
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situation of which is one of the most romantic, I ever beheld. It is a very large quadrangular building around a court, situated on the side of a vast mountain, near the bottom, but not so low, as not to command a great view in front: a large track of falling ground parts the house from a very beautiful lake, four miles long, and one and an half broad, in which are several lofty islands, covered with wood, in one of which M. de Verspot has built a summer-house, deliciously situated: on the other sides of this lake, the country is extremely various, either irregular vales, or hills rising very boldly, and in general covered thick with wood: the whole country belongs entirely to him for several miles every way: on the side of one of the hills, less steep than the rest, he has built a new village, of above seventy houses; which being raised of a white stone, has a most chearful and enlivening appearance. In the lake he has a small ship of two masts, carrying ten brass cannon; three sloops, and various boats; all which add uncommonly to the beauty of the scene. In a word, it put me more in mind of a nobleman's ornamented seat, in a wild part of Britain, than any place, I had seen, since I left England. We rambled for some miles about this fine, wild, and romantic scene; and returning
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to dinner, Madam de Verspot asked me, how I liked Raveburg? I replied, I thought it the most beautiful, and at the same time, the most romantic place I had ever seen in my life. At which compliment, tho' indeed the mere unaffected idea I had of the place, she seemed pleased; and I thought her husband very fortunate, in having a lady that could relish these sorts of country beauties, and enjoy a rural life, as well as the gaieties of the capital.

M. de Verspot lives in a very plentiful, and at the same time, elegant stile.——His table is spread with all the delicacies, which art can procure in this northern climate; he has all the finest wines in Europe, and his lake furnishes him with admirable fish.——His establishment may be guessed, when I mention his having above seventy menial servants in the house, one of whom has the title of captain of the guard, after the custom of Sweden, who has a table, at which is his secretary, and two chaplains; and besides this, there are five other tables kept; at the lowest of which, all the peasants, who please to come, are indiscriminately admitted; and their number is very often great, even to some hundreds; but that is only on festivals: however, some take advantage of the admission every day in the year. The house was built
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by himself from the ground, and the situation, as I before mentioned, most judiciously chosen. The apartments are amazingly numerous, and many of them very large; I think, it is the largest house belonging to a subject, which I have any where seen: there is a suite of eleven rooms, fronting the lake, not one of which is less than 40 feet long by 30 broad; they are all well furnished, each with two chimney-pieces in the English taste, though stoves are at each end of the room; and in all these stoves, and chimnies, as well as in every room in the house, are constant fires all winter. I am convinced, that in such a family as this, the depth of winter would be the season to enjoy the hospitality of the owner. My only doubt is, whether they have a society collected, sufficient to make that dreary season pass pleasantly.

In the morning, M. de Verspot made several enquiries of me concerning various objects, which I had examined in my travels in Flanders, Germany, and Denmark; when I described to him the encouragements, all the useful arts had lately met with in the last of those countries: he said, that formerly the Swedes much excelled the Danes in every thing; they were equally superior in war, commerce, and agriculture; but since faction has usurped the

the reins of the government, the kingdom hath in all things much declined. I replied, that the natural advantages of Denmark were, for the size of the territory, greater than those of Sweden, the climate warmer, and no mountains in the whole kingdom, but what might be cultivated to the very tops; whereas in Sweden, the mountains occupy an amazing share of the whole kingdom, and the climate is much severer. All that, said he, is very true; but what is the amount of the plains of Denmark in space, compared to those of Sweden? we have twenty acres to their one; and tho' our mountains cannot be cultivated, yet they in timber, iron, copper, pitch and tar, prove as valuable as the plains; and tho' our climate is much colder than that of Denmark, yet that is of no essential consequence, as we can raise every product, that is to be met with in Denmark.

I acknowledged the justness of these remarks.

Sir, said he, Denmark exceeds us in nothing, but the encouragement given by the crown in favour of useful undertakings; whereas the case is very different in Sweden. We have had our encouragements too, but the mischief is, they have been calculated more

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for the advantage of the estates of the senators, than for that of the people at large.

Upon my making enquiries concerning the object of his rural improvements, he answered, I will shew you, to-morrow morning, a large tract of cultivated country, near this house, which, when I came to the estate, was all waste; my great object has been, to bring these wastes into improvements. My property in these wilds is so extensive, that two lives, longer than mine, would be too short to improve them all, but I am not idle. I keep improving—doing that land first, that lies nearest to my dwelling. I am not an enemy to woods, provided they are duly regulated, and that they are confined to land, which is improper for corn and grass. Our firs and pines thrive as well, or I think rather better, on almost inaccessible mountains and steepes, than on plains, and more level ground: to the former, therefore, I confine them; and in the management of them, I am attentive always to thin my woods, instead of destroying the whole growth, which is the custom of this country. If an acre of land has thirty trees on it, that will turn out profitable to cut: the general way of the country is to cut down all, to take away the best, and reduce the rest to ashes, for manuring the land; the
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consequence of which management is, the land so cleared, being a long while before it is again covered with a good growth, and never, with any equal to what was before upon it; this is owing to a want of shelter. While the ground is half or three fourths covered, the young trees are well sheltered, and you have a continually thriving crop. There should not be more than from five to ten trees taken out in a year, from an acre of land, according as the soil, &c. may be. By practising this method, my woods yield me a very beneficial regular crop: I carry none but fine trees, which are sure of good price, to market; and are always in possession of so many acres at one time, as at another, instead of having large tracks laid waste by my peasants, which are some centuries before they recover themselves. Another circumstance, very well understood in England, but no where else, that I have remarked, is, attending to the fences around the woods; I keep all mine in as good order as those which surround my corn: cattle love to browse in woods, but the mischief they do is incredible: upon my system, I depend for the regular supply, on young trees being constantly on the growth among the old ones; but if cattle had admission in the common way, I should be presently disappointed

in my expectations: this is one reason, why a piece of waste is so long, before it becomes covered with a full growth of wood. But I make it a rule, as fast as I advance my improvements, to leave no wastes behind me. All, that are not proper for corn or grass, I inclose, with the same attention, as my other grounds, and sow them regularly with seeds, so that they presently become as good woods, as any on my estate. For other purposes, than the exportation, or use of fine timber, I reserve the woods, that are situated on places, which would admit a profitable culture of corn or grass; these I root out entirely, as they are wanted; and, as fast as they are cleared, cultivate the land.

By means of this conduct, all the parts of my estate, through which I advance my improvements, are brought into profit: woods indeed, in a country, where they are so amazingly plentiful, will not pay me near so good a rent, as my cultivated land; but then, all they do pay, is clear profit, for I leave them no where, that corn and grass could be well cultivated upon.

From this conversation of M. de Verspot, I entertained great expectations of seeing many noble improvements, next morning; but he warned me, not to form too great an idea of them.

them.—“ You will see,” said he, “ good common husbandry, exercised over a large track of land ; but that sight to an Englishman is nothing ; he sees it almost over a whole kingdom. I am so unfortunate, as to be at a distance from the sea ; our river, which carries down floats of timber, is of excellent use ; but had I the opportunity, which my excellent friend Roncellen has, I would attempt to rival him. My estate would alone, furnish employment for ten sail of stout ships for a century to come : had I the conveniency of a port, I should form a great exportation of various products, which would be an improvement, which nothing else can equal.”

M. de Verspot ordered an early breakfast, that we might have the longer excursion before dinner. I was apologizing for being troublesome to him ; but he said,—“ You are much mistaken, Sir, so far from being a trouble, it is giving me the pleasure of a companion in my usual ride, for I am never in the house from breakfast to dinner.”

In the morning, we mounted, and he conducted me about a mile and half through the ornamented environs I mentioned before, and then came into a part of the lands, which he cultivates himself. The situation of the ground was, in general, that of some gentle

hills and plains, entirely in culture. The fields were all regularly disposed in squares or oblongs; the fences regular and admirable; and all the gates, rails, &c. very good and neat, and all painted white, very much in the manner and appearance of many ornamented farms, I have seen in England. The inclosures were in general of twenty or thirty acres. The soil is a light loam upon a rock or flint, of various depths, but seldom less than six inches. M. de Verspot observed, that the depth was not of any material consequence, except for carrots, turneps, and some other roots; yet those crops yield abundantly in only six inches depth, tho' not so greatly as when deeper. The fields were covered with wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, buckwheat, carrots, turneps, clover, trefoil, &c. and many of them in natural grass. The crops were all exceeding vigorous, and superior to any thing in appearance, not only that I had lately seen, but also to most, that I recollected having taken any notice of in England. I expressed my surprize, that this northern latitude should admit the crops, which I then saw. "Sir, said he, I do not wonder at your opinion; I have heard it from several, and read much the same ideas in many books; nothing so common as, in the description of countries,

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to read of the climate being so severe, that the inhabitants must live only on fishing and hunting, or produces only a few oats; twenty books, in my library, tell me, that wheat will not succeed higher in Sweden, than the sixtieth degree of latitude. I am convinced, that the bounty of Providence is such, that all kinds of corn, pulse, and roots, which are now on my farm, will grow every where; the great thing is to consult the nature of the climate in the mode of culture.

In Sweden, our winters are extremely severe, and they come with but little intervention of autumn; they likewise go away suddenly, without such a gradation of spring, as you have in England: spring and autumn, you must well know, are, in warmer climates, the principal seasons for most of the operations of tillage: we are not totally without them, as some authors assert, but their duration is very short. As soon as the sun has thoroughly thawed the earth, and it is in order for tillage, that is the time to sow, which is evidently evinced by the immediate vegetation, seen in all plants: the peasants follow this idea very well; but the great object is the preparation of the land, in the little autumn we have. The field, which they sow in spring, never had any tillage, since the preceding crop; so that

the products are small, not from the fault of the land, but for want of better tillage. The power of the sun, coming after the frosts of winter, with the one ploughing they give their fields, sets all the weeds loose; and they vegetate with vigour, like every thing else; oftentimes to the destruction of the crop. But my method has usually been to be very expeditious; the moment harvest is over, I plough up all my stubbles, before the frost catches me: by this means, when it comes, it has the greater effect; but the principal use of it is, the seeds and roots of wheat vegetating, before I plough and sow in the spring, which they will not a tenth part do, if the land was not stirred in autumn; by turning them in, at the same time, that I sow my corn, they are killed, and the crops succeed as clean, as you now see them."

This conduct struck me very much, as it appeared at once to be founded, not only in experience, but good sense. Upon my asking him, if he thought ploughing up of stubbles in autumn, would be a good practice, where the same inducement did not hold equally strong, that is in milder climates, such as England?---"There is not, replied he, the same reason for it, because your spring allows you to plow your land as often as you please,

please, before you sow, consequently the weeds may be destroyed: yet I should follow the rule even in that climate; because by ploughing before winter (for which likewise you have whatever time you want) the frosts will have much more power over the soil, in breaking and sweetening it; so that less tillage would do in the spring, and the weeds also grow much more, which will render it so much the easier to kill them."—What the practice of our English farmers is in this case, I do not know: but it appears to be a point of considerable importance.

As we rode through the fields, the crops of which made so fine an appearance, M. de Verspot observed, that of all his grain, nothing paid him better than wheat; tho' among the common farmers, they are much inclined to think that oats answer as well, from the largeness of the produce, which is much greater than wheat. My oat crops generally yield me five or six quarters an acre; my barley, rather more than four; wheat yields two and an half; peas as much; beans four; and buckwheat four. These crops seeming to me to be very considerable, I asked him, if he did not manure very richly for them; and how he managed in this respect, as he did not use woodashes in the large quantities of the common farmers?

“ I depend, replied he, entirely upon dung, formed into composts with the earth, I dig in draining marshes. I have two strong reasons against the practice, common among the peasants, of manuring with such quantities of wood-ashes; first, they spoil, for ages, large tracks of wood land, for they not only carry away all the ashes, but all the surface of the soil with them; and I find my woods too profitable to destroy, without, at the same time, gaining either grass or arable in the room of them: secondly, they depend so much on these ashes, that they are apt to neglect the article of cattle, as they can manure their lands without them: but I think it an infinite loss, not only to themselves, but to the whole kingdom, to adopt any system, that lessens the general stock of cattle; I think, they form the most profitable part of husbandry; and at the same time, that they are of this importance to the farmer, in the profit they yield, they are to the state the foundation of the manufactures of wool and leather, which in all countries are of such consequence. Nor do their benefits stop here; for our corn fields are indebted to them for the finest crops, that cover them. Did the peasants depend on their dung alone for manuring, they would keep more cattle, and then their general husbandry would

would be much improved. In all my improvements, when I proportion the quantities of each crop to the rest, I make the first foundation of such an arrangement, the quantity of dung I shall want; I then provide food for such a number of cattle as will, I know, yield me the requisite quantity of dung. I have carried this idea into practice these many years, and always found it uniformly profitable."

Upon my enquiring further into this system, he went on—"A very little attention would enable our peasants to conceive the full extent of this management, and act accordingly. They all of them keep their cattle, and know well enough how to crop their fields for the maintenance of them, so that they would only have to proportion their ground to a greater number. They all of them feel the advantage of keeping cows, hogs, oxen, and many of them sheep; they find nothing of a readier sale, and in many situations, they are the only commodities, which, for want of roads, can be brought to market. And tho' our winter is very long, and the maintenance of them at that season troublesome and expensive, yet there are few cold climates, that produce better crops for keeping them; and it is in the winter alone, that the dunghills are

made, which are of such great value to all our crops. Our Swedish turneps, of which we have two sorts, is a most valuable crop; when prepared for, by sufficient ploughings and manure, it yields a vast produce, which will keep sound through the sharpest winter: for the sake of tilling my land, and being able to get at the crop at all times, I generally lay them up in barns, so as to be very handy for feeding all sorts of cattle on the spot. We have the plants which you in England call the kales, that is, cabbages, which do not turn in with hard heads, but are all composed of open leaves; these vegetate all winter through, and the snows must be uncommonly deep, to prevent our getting at them. Carrots, I lay by in stores, in the same manner, as turneps: then we have plenty of hay and straw, in common with other countries; so that I must confess, I see no reason for our complaining in Sweden, nor any difficulty, which our industrious farmer can find, in providing for the most numerous herds of cattle. An acre of turneps or carrots will winter-feed four cows, if they have a good portion of hay, and as much straw as they like; but without any hay at all, they will keep three; which is very considerable, and shews, what may be done by a spirited industry. Our kale grows into such fine
crops,

crops, that, with straw, an acre of it will winter fix sheep; swine are kept in the most advantageous manner possible on carrots, and even fattened upon them to great profit. But all these crops, to be considerable, ought to be very well tilled and amply manured; and if the peasants are restrained from wood-ashes, and have not any cattle, from whence is this manure to come? Hence it is, that cattle enable you to keep cattle; so that the more they keep, the more they might keep, if the dung is properly applied.

“ Another great advantage, possessed by all wild countries, is the having great plenty of vegetables, of use only for being converted into litter: all our wastes and our woods yield vast quantities of weeds, which, mown in their succulency, make excellent straw for littering our cattle all winter long, which, in the raising much manure, is an advantage of the most valuable kind. They are to be gained in almost any quantities; but our peasants did not see their interest in this point, as they ought; most of them lay in a few loads, but not a tenth part sufficient to make as much dung as they might. I keep all my cattle littered up to their bellies, the whole winter through; by which means, my dung-hills ensure me the greatest crops, of which
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the land is capable of yielding. So that I am confident, there is no absolute occasion for such quantities of wood ashes, as the Swedish peasants so much depend on."

From the view I had of M. de Verspot's fields, as well as from his conversation, I was extremely clear, that no man could know better than he, how to raise great crops of all sorts; but I desired to know, where he found a market for his products, for I found, he had four thousand acres in his own hands.

"I do not, replied he, meet with any difficulty in that point; my improvements in husbandry, and in ornamenting the lands around my house, with the number of people that inhabit it, all together form a very considerable consumption, and the rest is sold by my agents to whoever will purchase: much is bought, to supply the miners in the mountains; and yet more finds its way down the river by Tuna, and so to sea, to the towns upon the coast. If I had a port, so conveniently situated, as to make it adviseable to keep shipping of my own, I should be able to gain a much higher price; but as I meet at present with rates, that answer very well to me, and I have neither trouble nor chances, I am contented; but if the people on my estate increase in future, as they have done lately, the whole

whole country will find a market at home, superior to any thing they can get abroad.

“ And from the experience I have had in this point, I have great reason to believe, that increasing population brings with it every other advantage; and that most other improvements will follow of course, provided the population, so gained, is founded on husbandry; that is, a certainty of food. I have never formed any manufactories, because I was of opinion, that the improvement of the soil was the first and most profitable business, the people could be employed in; and that ’till husbandry-improvements were advanced to the utmost height, all the hands, employed in the manufactures, were so much loss to the state.

“ This reasoning, I know, I am particular in; it will give offence to you, and would give yet more to a Frenchman.—But whether I am right or wrong, is not a point of any consequence, since they generally establish themselves without your assistance. The number of people, I have drawn together for different works, have formed manufactories; the ready market this population carries with it, has induced several undertakers to fix some fabrics in my villages; there are some of woollen cloth, of leather, linen, hats, and hardware: they are not, it is true, considerable; but they
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are proportioned to the demand, and population has created them ; and I have no doubt, but they will increase, as the population of my estate increases. Thus you may depend upon it in all cases, that if you work such improvements in agriculture, as greatly increases the number of people, such improvements will themselves do all the rest ; they will establish manufactures, and bring commerce, when they arrive at a certain degree, and wealth proportioned must be the consequence. Nor should we forget, that when these kind of advantages take place of themselves, and gradually, we may be sure, they are natural, and permanent, and not exotics, planted by an anxious hand, and cherished by an unremitting attention : such must be more valuable, and always more certain in their nature and consequences ; and conclude from hence, that the solicitude, discovered at present in several parts of Europe, for establishing manufactories is either unnecessary or improper : if their policy is sound, manufactures will come of course ; if they do not come, it is proof sufficient, that they ought not, as the hands, which they would employ, ought to be advancing the soil to its utmost improvement, before any thing is done in fabrics."

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I made some objections to this opinion, drawn from the example of England and Holland; but they were not of consequence enough to insert here.——M. de Verspot went on——“ In conversing with several noblemen in Sweden, on the subject of improving their estates, the most general difficulty, I have heard of, is the getting hands; but from my own experience I am clear, that this is an imaginary evil. No country could be more desolate, or worse inhabited than this, when I began my undertaking of improving it; but by protecting and encouraging them, building houses immediately for all, that would settle, and employing them constantly at a fair price for their labour, they would any where command, whatever numbers they wanted, and increase them, as quickly as they pleased to any height. I am convinced, that for increasing the population of any country, nothing more is wanting, than the improvement of land.”

Having viewed a considerable part of the farm, we returned to dinner; and spent the remainder of the day in conversing on these subjects. I found him quite enthusiastical in favour of agriculture; but must say, that I believe he would not, if he had the direction of the affairs of Sweden, carry these ideas exclusively

sively too far, and neglect manufactures and commerce too much.

The next morning, he carried me over a different part of his farm, and shewed me the improvement of a very large marsh, by draining. It was converted into a very profitable meadow. He also carried me through a field of experiments, of fifty acres, wherein he tries every thing, that is of dubious success, before he extends the culture through his whole farm: here he brings the recommendations of various writers to the test, to see what truth there is in their assertions: he is now trying some artificial grasses, not yet common in Sweden, particularly sainfoine, esparcette, lucerne, and cytissus, of all which he had small parcels, but he did not seem to speak favourably of them, from what they had hitherto promised. He had also under culture several plants from Siberia, and different sorts of wheat, to see, which would agree best with the climate. Here was also a set of trials upon dung, in order to discover what was the proper quantity for an acre of land. I must own, that this field pleased me better than any one I had ever viewed in my life. M. de Verspot here gained most of his knowledge.—the culture of it is immediately under his own inspection,—nothing is done here, without he is present;

present; and by repeating and varying his trials, he is able to decide in every instance, what best suits the soil and climate. He observed to me, that no farmer should be without a piece of ground, which he dedicates to this use; otherwise, he must either give up all idea of any improvements, or else try them upon too great a scale at first; which, if they are unsuccessful, would be injurious to him: a remark, which is certainly just.—The evening of this day was also spent in conversation, which I found very instructive.

The 6th, I took my leave of him, after expressing how much I was obliged to him for my reception at Raversburg, and inviting him, in case he should ever come into England again, or any of his friends, to give me an opportunity of returning it. I had enquired of him concerning the northern provinces of Sweden; and he assured me, that I should see nothing in Lapland worth going after; that as my route was to Peterburgh, I had better keep pretty near the coast of the Baltic, through the two Bothnias, down to Finland, and through Nyland and Carelia; in which journey, I should have an opportunity of seeing several varieties of country and husbandry.

C H A P. II.

Hernofand—Pleasing Adventure with a Swedish Peasant—Husbandry—Uma—State of commerce—Pitha—Description of the country—Torneo—State of the country in East Bothnia—Admirable Management of a Farmer—A Swedish Club—Remarkable Country—Nyslot—Wyburg.

I LEFT Raversburgh the 6th, setting out for Hernofand on the Baltic, in the province of Angermania, the distance sixty miles, which took me two days, through a country very much like that, about M. de Verspot, but very differently cultivated: spots in the vales were occupied by peasants, who all seemed to be little farmers, but they had nothing that struck me in their management. Hernofand is a small island in the gulf; is the capital of the province, and has a little trade in iron and timber, and is a port, to which some small craft come, that ply backwards and forwards from Stockholm. It might be of very great advantage, that so large a part of this kingdom is situated on the Baltic, and surrounds the

the gulf of Bothnia in such a manner, that a quick and easy communication is kept up between province and province, and between them all, and the capital. I know of scarcely any country, that has the advantage of such a navigation, as this gulf, which is surrounded by so many provinces.

The 8th, I reached Scensio, a little village on the bay of the gulf, the inhabitants of which support themselves chiefly by fishing; great quantities of which they dry for their winter provision; and there are some sorts, which, when dried, they pull in pieces, and grind, and then make up in balls of fish bread, being mixed with a portion of barley meal. It is a very odd, and I should apprehend, a very unwholesome diet. They have but little idea of husbandry here; which would make one think, that it is in general carried on in the villages, merely as a means of existence, by raising food, and seldom, as a trade, wherewith to get money, in order to purchase necessaries. The peasants, in every part of Sweden, go to market for fewer commodities, than we, in England, can have any conception of. Their husbandry, hunting or fishing, feeds them; most of their cloathing is of their own manufacture; many of them with wooden shoes of their own making; so that salt and

some brandy are the chief articles, that many of them purchase.—This was a journey of near forty miles.—The 9th, I went near as far to get to Grunfud: the country is chiefly peopled with fishermen, but they have more culture among them, than in that of yesterday's route. Many of them have little farms, and seem to be much more at their ease, than those that are mere fishermen. From this place to Una in West Bothnia, at the distance of seventy miles, took me a day and a half; the country is pretty well cultivated. I lodged at the house of a peasant, who had a small farm of his own, and is, I believe, the most contented, happy man in the world. I offered him money; but he would take none, saying, that when he travelled through my country, he dared to say, I should not refuse him a night's lodging, and some victuals.—The honest man did it from a mere principle of genuine hospitality. Money, said he, is of very little value to me; my farm supplies myself and my family with most necessaries; and plenty to sell, for the little we want to buy. He had a wife, two sons, and two daughters; and the whole family seemed animated with the father's spirit.—There was a cheerfulness, a health, and an activity in them all, that convinced me, they were superlatively happy. The employment of the
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three men was to hunt, shoot, and fish, and do the most laborious works of the husbandry; the women ploughed and sowed the ground, and did most of the other business of the farm, that was within their strength, and manufactured woollen cloth for all the family. The sale of their superfluities bought them, whatever they wanted to purchase, such as salt, implements, some linen, &c. and they had money enough always left, after paying their taxes, to lay up something against emergencies. I think this is as compleat a representation of rural happiness, as can exist.—This family have nothing to fear.—They are as independent as an absolute monarch, and much more at their ease. It was with pleasure, I entered into the particulars of their living, and found a cottage, that was the constant residence of peace and content. It is in such situations and circumstances, that we should look for happiness; not in towns, nor in the palaces of kings, or the seats of gentlemen, but in the humble cottage, where no knowledge enters, but what is applied to utility.

Una, where I arrived the 21st, is one of the most considerable towns in West Bothnia. It is situated on a very fine large river, which falls into the gulf: there is a good harbour for

ships, and the place has a pretty brisk trade in timber, iron, pitch, tar, &c. and having two or three merchants, of large property, to whom several ships belong, they carry on here a trade with Holland and England, loading out with the products of the countries around the gulf, and bringing home a great variety of commodities, which they sell in all the ports around the Baltic, in Sweden, Ruffia, Livonia, Poland, Prussia and Germany. It is of very great advantage to a town to be inhabited by a few such extensive traders; for the profits center in it; they employ their townsmen in their shipping, and export much more products, than would be done, if it were not for them. These merchants also much enrich the place by their ship-building; for they have never less than three or four on the stocks at a time: these ships they sell, wherever they can get a market, cargo and all, which they often do to good advantage; and this I take to be the most beneficial commerce, which Sweden, or any other country, that abounds with plenty of naval stores, can carry on; for by building ships for sale, she gives the last hand in manufacturing all her products, and consequently employs as many of her people as possible; but when she sells the timber, iron, pitch, &c. separately, the nations, that buy them, make
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this last profit, which is a very considerable one. No government, therefore, can ever give a wiser bounty, than that of so much per ton, for all ships built in a country; it is the most advantageous commerce her subjects can carry on. Louis XIV. was certainly well advised by Colbert to give this bounty; and it was attended with as good effects, as any other measure in that successful administration.

It took me two days to reach Scornsfay, at the distance of fourscore miles. I took up my quarters the first night at a village, where, for the first time since I have been in Sweden, I met with a set of barbarians: I could persuade none of them to let me into their cottages; they were sure I was a spy from the Muscovites; on what errand, or for what purposes I was come, they could not tell. We were now benighted, and in a road, of which we had no good accounts; so I found, I was very likely to pass the night on horseback: I went from cottage to cottage, but all were possessed of the same idea; none would be hospitable. Going yet further, I came to a cottage in a lonely spot; I determined here to force an entrance, and seize the castle by storm, in case they would not be prevailed on by fair and mild requisitions: but still it was in vain;

they had no room for us: tho' we offered to pay for every thing we should eat and drink, and for our horses, yet it had no effect. I gave a signal (which I had explained to my men) for one of them to march round, and attack the fortress in flank, while I remained to storm it in front. The plan was executed in a moment: I drew my pistols, presented them to the breast of the peasant; my men bound him hand and foot; and we secured the women and children, tying all their hands behind them, and locking them up in a room, with the postilion armed as a sentinel over them: then we took possession of the mansion, feasted on the coarse provisions we found, and I set up my bed in one of the rooms. I passed a good night, without any alarm from the prisoners. In the morning, I set forward on my journey, leaving the inhospitable owners of the cottage, bound, till their neighbours close to their door, and in sight of the road, should accidentally come to their relief.

Scornfay is a little town, at the foot of a mountain, with a river running under its walls, near as large as the Thames at Chelsea; the shores are very bold, and all covered with wood. I have scarcely seen a more romantic and striking situation: large ships come up to the quay, tho' at a considerable distance from

from the sea; these load timber chiefly, and in general for the Holland market. There are not any merchants of substance in the town, and their trade does not seem to be at all regular; sometimes they have three or four vessels in port, and they informed me, that, many weeks, none at all were to be seen.

From Seornfay, two days journey carried me to Fäme, through a country various; but about the villages, there is in general some cultivated land, enough to feed and maintain the inhabitants, and to enable them to buy of the shipping, what they wanted, which their own soil could not furnish. There are no shops or pedlars upon this coast, except in the more considerable towns: all the peasants and inhabitants buy what they want out of small sloop traders, which make annual voyages up the gulf of Bothnia from Stockholm. This place is in 65 degrees of latitude; and yet I perceived no change in the climate, or in the husbandry. They cultivate the same plants, as are to be seen to the southward, and apparently with the same success. Probably, the increased length of day, proportioned to the degree of north latitude, enables them to cultivate the crops of the southern latitudes. Barley is a tender grain, and more congenial to the cli-

mate in Spain than any other; yet they have good crops of barley here; and I am assured, they also sow it with success in Lapland; so that these most useful plants are, by Providence, sent to almost all countries.

The 26th I got to Pitha, the distance near thirty miles, through a country, in general of a marshy soil, which some of the peasants have converted, by draining outspots, into profitable meadows; and indeed, I have seen in few places more industry, than is apparent in these people. Upon the drier rising grounds they have crops of turneps and kale for their own and their cattle's winter provision, the meadows affording them nothing at that season. They keep large herds of swine, and feed them in winter on regular trusses of boiled roots, mixed with small quantities of peas; and they seem to reckon their hogs among the principal articles of their wealth.

Pitha is a pleasant little sea port, tolerably well built; at which they carry on a small coasting trade, and export some timber, &c. I met with a better inn here, than I had done for a long while before, and a very civil, intelligent landlord. He gave me for my supper an excellent dish of fish, and a piece of very tender good venison, with some French wine, than which I had drank worse. All this made
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delicate fare, compared with what I met with at the peasant's; and my reckoning was very reasonable. I asked the landlord some questions about the present state of the town, and the neighbouring country. He said it was a poor town, and still a poorer country; that if it was not for a little shipping, now and then, they would have no such thing as money among them. He said trade declined, and there was no prospect of seeing things better. He entered into a long dissertation upon the politics of the times, and was deep read, I found, in the Stockholm gazette.

My next day's journey, the 27th, was to Lula, another sea port town, standing on the mouth of a very fine river, which is navigable a good way, and comes far, from the inner parts of Lapland, &c. Here is a brisker coast trade carried on than at Pitha, because the inland navigation is much more considerable. They have ships very often from Stockholm, which bring various commodities in exchange for the products of these provinces, which consist of timber, pitch and tar, and many furs; which find a good market in the capital. They are sometimes visited by English and Dutch ships, which they reckon highly advantageous to them; and from the appearance of their stocks of timber, I should think
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them very well provided for loading any ships whatever. They have one or two pretty considerable merchants among them, who build ships here, then load them with timber, and next, send ship and cargo to be sold in Holland upon commission. The profits of this, they said, are not great; but when their seamen are out of employment, and they have the opportunity of building cheap, it pays them something for their trouble and risque.

The 28th, I set out for Torneo, through a country very wild and mountainous, with but few villages in it; and as to a gentleman's seat, I had not seen one for several days. They have some appearance of cultivation around their cottages; but it is only for their own subsistence: there is enough, however, to shew, that high as the latitude of this country is, (it is about 66°) it would produce plentifully for a numerous people; but it is very thinly inhabited. Through all the provinces of Sweden that I have yet travelled, I am convinced, that the principal cause of the country being so thinly inhabited, is the small number of farmers; there being only peasants, with land enough round their cottages, for the subsistence of the people within them. Many of these little spots
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belong to them; and none of their children will ever brook the living in a worse manner, than their fathers did, which seems to be a prevalent idea amongst them: so that a family, in this situation, are sure to leave but one representative, unless some gentleman builds cottages, and gives away his land around them, which, it may easily be imagined, is not very common. This prevents marriages among the sons; for, as they cannot have their own cottages and lands, they live at home unmarried, with the brother who inherits: thus little or no increase happens, unless by mere accident. But if all these peasants lived in hired cottages, without any land, and the country was cultivated by great farmers, who could afford to pay them money for their labour, the farmers would grow ten times the produce, which is now produced, and export all, that was not consumed; which would be a constant motive to them to increase their business, and, of course, to fix their sons in other farms. In the cases of some patriotic persons, who have made improvements in husbandry, and built houses, we found, before, that the people increased as fast as could be wished.

Torneo stands better than any other town on the gulf, for the trade of Lapland, which
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is not inconsiderable in furs, some of which are very valuable. It lies near three considerable rivers, which flow through all Swedish Lapland, and open a small commerce with Norway and Muscovite Lapland; so that at Torneo I found more shipping, than I had seen at any place, I had lately been at on this sea. Ships come from Stockholm hither, laden with all sorts of necessaries for these northern provinces, and carry their products back in return. Hence the town is tolerably well built, the streets broad and straight, and very well paved, and some of the merchants, of which there are a good number, very rich. They build ships, and fit them out on trading voyages, and make every effort to employ their money so, as it may bring in good interest; but, with all their endeavours, they are not able to increase the trade of the place, further, than what the same men could carry on at any other; which is owing to a want of population, and wealth in the country behind them; so that they are much limited in the commodities, they export, and also in the quantity of those, they import. And indeed, it is generally found, that agriculture, well pursued, must increase the people very much; manufactures will next arise, to satisfy their greatest wants; and then comes commerce,

to supply the rest. This is the natural chain, and it is in vain to think of breaking or reversing it.

July 31st, I left Torneo, and reached Coyrannum, a little town on the coast, which is subsisted chiefly by fishing. The inhabitants, in the most northerly parts of the two Bothnias, have a different appearance from the Swedes in the southern provinces of the kingdom; they are less informed, of a shorter stature, and more irregular in their dress, many of them, sewing together the skins of foxes, and other wild creatures, whose furs are not of value, and make their cloathing, in a much rougher and more ordinary manner; nor are they so intelligent or comprehensive; but they are a very simple and harmless people, and appear to be very humane. I found most of them, exceedingly respectful and civil. Their ordinary salutation is not bowing like the Swedes in other parts: these countrymen take hold of your right-hand, and lay it over their left, making strange faces at the same time. The next town, of the least consequence, is Salo, which carries on a very small trade, as they informed me; the distance is near eighty miles, which I performed in two days. And here let me say a word or two in praise of the little Dalecarlian horses, which

which have brought me with such expedition through some of the most dangerous roads in Europe, and without once having failed us, tho' six in number; and I think, they look as well, as before they set out on a journey of so many hundred miles. I have so great a value for them, that I am determined to carry them to England; and I am now so accustomed to the hard exercise of riding thirty or forty miles a day, that I feel not the least inconvenience from it.

August the 2d, I got to Salo; the country, through which I travelled, not mountainous, being in general a plain, rising into small hills; much of it well cultivated; and, what surprized me, by farmers, who hire of the landlords, considerable tracks of land: their chief riches are cattle; they have large droves of black cattle, many sheep, and numerous herds of hogs. The method, in which these farmers pay their labourers, the peasants, is in kind: those, who attend the sheep, have so many kept for them with the farmers; the hogs the same; and the men, who take care of the cattle, have some cows kept for them. The landlords rent is paid in corn and cattle. All this is necessary, in a country, where money is amazingly scarce. They sow wheat, and all the other sorts of grain, pulse and roots,

roots, which I have seen in other parts of Sweden; tho' I do not think, their crops are so good, as in mountainous tracks; which, I apprehend, is for want of equal shelter, and the soil not being so good as in small vales, that receive the wash of many mountains. The turnep and carrot crops, with fields of kale, they cultivate, I was informed, more to the north, than any place where I have been; which shews how valuable these plants are for supporting themselves and their cattle. There are some ship loads of different sorts of provisions, that go every summer from Salo, for Stockholm and the southern parts of the Baltic; they do not get money in return, but such manufactures and commodities, as they want.

My next route was to Nicarlby, a little sea port town, with some trifling commerce, near ninety miles from Salo. I did not get there till the 5th, twice taking up my lodging with very hospitable farmers. One of them, at a little village called Koninglens, was much superior in his ideas, and in his husbandry, to any thing I had seen of late; and this was a pleasing circumstance to me, as I got to his house early in the afternoon. I took a walk with him through the fields, nearest to his dwelling; and the accounts, he gave me, appeared

peared very rational. His crops were all very fine and clean; and I observed, that his corn fields were very numerous, and of large extent, spreading over several hills within sight; the size of his farm exceeding in the whole a thousand acres, and a great portion of it under culture. He gets two quarters of wheat an acre, and sometimes more, three quarters of barley and beans, and sometimes four of oats; and his root crops all appeared very good. He told me, there were several other farms in the neighbourhood, and that all of them belonged to the baron Bothmer, who resided constantly at Stockholm; that money was so scarce in this country, that the other tenants paid the agent in kind for rent; but he finding that this was a great loss to them, from the low prices, at which the products were reckoned, thought of paying in money; and this he planned, from having once used the sea. All the products of their farms were at double the price, at Stockholm, to what the landlords agents allowed for them. This induced him to buy a sloop of fifty tons, and to hire a couple of sailors, to try a voyage to Stockholm in September, carrying a loading of wheat, barley, pork, beef, mutton, wool, furs, &c. and made it up with timber. The experiment turned out as he could wish: he kept

kept his sloop, persuaded one of the sailors to live with him on shore, as well as aboard, and made an annual trip upon the same business for several years, paying his rent in money. He found this scheme so very advantageous, that, as his husbandry increased, by improving the bad and waste lands of his farm, he found, he could load his vessel twice with the marketable produce of his farm, besides what he disposed of in the neighbourhood; and he has now increased it to three voyages, which he makes regularly every year, and he himself sells the cargo. He has built a kind of shed over a dry dock, where he lays up his sloop, and is very careful of her. She will not hold out many years longer; however, he proposes buying one of 80 or 100 tons, finding the method he pursues, of so much consequence to his profit; for this ready sale of his products enables him every year to make improvements. He has, since he acted thus, improved a piece of the waste belonging to his farm every year; which he will continue to do, until all is in culture. I should observe, that his farm lies remarkably well for executing this work; for it is all on the sea coast; and there is a small creek runs up into a pent, near his house, which has depth of water, sufficient for a ship of two hun-

dred tons; but, at the same time, that he enjoys this advantage, there are hundreds of other farms, equally well situated, around the gulf of Bothnia, whereof the farmers have no notion of making such an use.

I must remark, that this instance is a proof, among many others of a different nature, of the great consequence of a regular market for the farmer in all countries to depend upon. This active and enterprizing man struck out so original a way of disposing of his products, merely for want of a market at home: had he been possessed of that, he certainly would not have been at the expence of finding one, at so great a distance. Thus improvements in husbandry are not at their highest value, nor indeed can be undertaken in their due extent, without a market, for the products so raised, being gained. There are many ways of obtaining it: the increase of population, caused by the improvements, takes some; manufactures, to the full amount of the people's wants, provide more mouths, which carry off another large portion; and then commerce must be brought in, to carry off the remainder; first, by the number of people she fixes on the spot; and secondly, by exportation: then the having gained a full market for all, that can be produced, is such an encouragement to the class, who

who cultivate the soil, that they will necessarily carry their improvements very far: Not so far, however, as they are capable of going, without being pushed on by encouragement and example from those above them. Of this truth, we see instances every day, in the countries best peopled, and in general best cultivated, and where all the products of the lands sell at as high prices as any where else. Thus in England, what considerable tracks of land are at this day, as wild as if they were in the latitude of Lapland, and amounting, according to the accounts of many knowing persons, to a seventh part of the kingdom? With us no encouragements, no markets are wanting. What therefore should be the reason of such a strange neglect? It can be owing to nothing, but the ignorance and obstinacy of our lower sort of people, who will not be persuaded, that any land can be good for use, that was not cultivated by their forefathers; and this supineness we find amongst men, who shew themselves so well qualified in the management of land already in culture. Therefore, as none of these motives are strong enough for bringing into cultivation the waste lands of any county, it is absolutely necessary, that public laws and private endeavours be made to co-operate; which cannot be done,

without making it the interest of landlords to undertake and encourage improvements, beyond that standing interest, which the profit of the work always carries with it: for instance, it might be adviseable to lay heavy taxes upon waste lands, as long as they continued uncultivated; and, in case, any old customs or rights, such as that of commonage upon them, should obstruct such beneficial laws, then to abolish all such antient customs, and allow every man to inclose, and do, what he thought best, with every part of his own property. There are many other means, which might be put in execution, in order to push on all men to a vigorous resolution to improve the wastes belonging to them; and if the subject was considered, with any degree of attention, numerous methods might be found for effectually answering the purpose.

It is very surprising, that I should not, in travelling so many miles upon the sea coasts of Sweden, have met with more instances of this penetration, than the single one of the farmer in question. This kingdom has a vast line of coast, numerous bays, gulfs that jet far into the provinces, with very many navigable rivers; and, at the same time, that these opportunities are so abundant, a vast track of country lies adjacent to them, in the highest
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want of them, and to which they would be of such use, as to advance the value of the lands very considerably. Surely, this should be a very great motive to all the landlords upon these coasts, who reside upon their estates, to put in practice, means so much at their command, of advancing the value of them.

Nicarby is a place of no great consideration. They told me, it was once a town, that carried on a great trade; but when the Russians over-run the province, they burnt it to the ground, and quite ruined several of the greatest merchants in it; since which, it has never recovered its trade, the commerce at present carried on here, not being at all considerable. It is not however badly built, and the streets are regular. The church is small, but very neat. They have a trifling manufacture of very coarse woollen goods, for the supply of the neighbouring country; but it does not seem to be in a flourishing situation.

The 6th, I got to Vero, another little town on the gulf, with an exceeding good port, and a tolerably built quay, which is the only good street in the town. There is a little trade upon the coast, and to Stockholm, which consists principally of timber. There are not

above seven or eight hundred souls in the place, and it appears to be but a poor one. Waffay, which I reached the 7th, is a place of greater note; it has more trade; and several merchants, tolerably wealthy, inhabit it, who have ships of their own, in which they export large quantities of timber; but they want a home demand, to load their vessels back again; for the country behind the town, after a few miles, is one continued forest, without any cultivated spots or villages, and reaches from hence quite to the White Sea, through several Russian provinces, at the distance of near seven hundred miles, and scarcely any inhabitants to be found the whole way. I came accidentally by this knowledge; for, just after I had ordered supper, the landlord of the inn came in to inform me, that in the next room were a set of gentlemen of the town, assembled at a club, who, understanding, there was a stranger in the house, sent their compliments to him, inviting him to spend the evening with them. I thought, I might as well make myself acquainted with a Swedish club, and therefore returned for answer, that I should be very happy in waiting on them; but it was my misfortune, not to understand Swedish, and I had

had no interpreter but my servant. They replied, that if I understood French, they had one among them, who could converse with me; if not, desired I would bring my interpreter. This was very well; so I went to them, and upon my entering the room, they all arose, and received me after the manner of the country. There were nine of them; one, who seemed to be the principal man amongst them, and who was the gentleman, that understood the French language, was a very corpulent man, who complained of being much afflicted with the gout. I found, he was a merchant in the town, who had formerly been captain of a merchant ship; and I observed, that they gave him the title of Captain, by way of honour; tho' I should have thought it, for a man of property, rather a reflection. He was about fifty years old, a lively, talkative fellow, had travelled almost every part of the world; and as such extensive travelling, tho' aboard a merchant ship, is very uncommon, in the remote provinces of Sweden, I perceived, they considered him almost as an oracle, and gave way to his opinion in most points. He craved my name, my country, and my business in Sweden, tho' in a good-natured way. Upon my satisfying him in all these particulars, and his informing

his friends of it, I found, I gained much in all their good graces, by thinking their country worth viewing thro' curiosity. The rest of the company appeared to be merchants, captains of ships, and the better sort of shopkeepers, but all decently and neatly dressed, and seemed, from the manner in which things were conducted, to be people of substance. The worst of their company was their pipes; they all smoked tobacco incessantly; and as the room was but a small one, I thought, I should have been suffocated at first. They made many enquiries after England, and our manners and customs in many particulars; in which I satisfied them, much to their apparent entertainment. I, in my turn, questioned them about the manufactures and commerce of their town and neighbourhood, and they gave me an account of every thing, they could, and I believe, a very just one. They said, the trade of their town was at a very low ebb; that it was too inconsiderable a place, and the country around it too thinly inhabited, to furnish much trade; but that they traded a good deal all around the Baltic, being satisfied with commerce, wherever they found it; that they generally loaded timber for England or Holland, and then got a freight to where-ever they could; if not
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on the merchant's account, to whom they sent the timber, yet on their own, by taking in a cargo of such goods, as they could get off at some port or other in the Baltic, and never losing any opportunity to sell ship and all. This commerce, on an average of seven years, pays, they assured me, very poor interest for their money: now and then, they meet with lucky voyages, that answer greatly; but sometimes, they are forced to go from port to port, in England and Holland, before they can sell a cargo, and perhaps at last, after a great loss of time, under prime cost and charges; so that they should not make such ventures, were it not, that all their trade depends upon keeping some shipping in motion, by forcing things in this manner. The most profitable part of these voyages is the sale of the ship, when it happens, and that they endeavour to push as much as possible, tho' at low prices, in order to keep their ship carpenters together, by finding them constant work. One of them said, "Ah! Sir, we must be very industrious, through a long life, before we can make a small fortune:" which indeed, from the description of their trade, I thought true enough.

Upon my enquiring after their manufactures, they said, they had none, except a fabric

bric or two of very coarse woollens, for the peasants wear; and that was carried on, merely because imported goods of that sort were prohibited, tho' they could buy them in England, and sell them at Waffay, much cheaper, than their own manufacturers could make them. But, said they, trade is shackled and destroyed by the regulations, prohibitions and laws lately made; so that if our governors go on much longer, as they have done of late, we shall have no trade at all; not a ship to navigate. We could get cargoes of many sorts of goods in England, that would go off well in Sweden, but we are prohibited; and for no good reason; for we should not pay for them with money; we could get all with timber, iron, pitch, tar, and hemp. This would keep our ships employed; whereas your countrymen, finding, that we do not take your goods, go to the Danes and the Muscovites. And for that matter, who can blame you? The fault is all in our government.

I could not help smiling at the warmth of the honest merchant who said this; and, from what I have, at various times, heard, since I left Stockholm, I must confess, I do not see the policy of laws, in relation to trade, which have been lately made in Sweden. The merchants complaining is a rule, very rarely

rarely a false one, to judge by. It may be said, that these traders and captains visibly concern themselves with nothing more, than getting freights for their ships, and would like any trade, however detrimental to the kingdom, provided it answered their purposes. But in reply to this, it might be observed, that the state of the case in question strikes out all such suppositions; for they wanted to trade to a country, against whom the balance always was, in every period of the mutual commerce; consequently, a safe and an advantageous trade, upon the very appearance of it. They also wanted to load their ships out, as well as home, being equally desirous of carrying out their own products, as bringing home our manufactures. At the same time, that these unfavourable circumstances appear, the navigation of Sweden is enlarged, and the most valuable part of all her manufactures, ship-building, extended: so that her eagerness to make her subjects manufacture every thing for themselves, was aiming at an impossibility, and being, in all the intermediate steps, much too precipitate.

Upon my enquiring into the state of the country to the east of Waffay, they told me, it was one unbounded and almost uninhabited forest; that no cultivation was to be met
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with, till I came to the province of Savolaxia; and that nine villages out of ten in that country were destroyed by the Russians, and the people carried off, and settled in waste tracks in Ingria and Carelia, where they were so well treated afterwards, having good lands given to every family, houses built for them, and furnished; cattle given them and implements to cultivate the ground with, and at the same time, no taxes taken of them; that they found themselves happier under the Russian despotism, than under their own free government; and, as a proof of this, they have drawn away whole villages from our provinces. Upon my enquiring, if it was owing to any evils, attending the climate or soil, or its products, that such a vast country was in so wild a state; they replied, that, on the contrary, it was a country, which would support very numerous inhabitants; for the soil in the vales, and upon the gentle hills, was supposed to be equal to any in Sweden; and that they had lands, much more to the north, in a state of profitable culture; that the forests are full of very fine timber, which would assist the inhabitants considerably in all their undertakings: In a word, that much of it was a very desirable country, and wanted little, besides people to inhabit it.

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This instance of so large a track of country being uninhabited, and the emigrations to Russia, I must own, made a stronger impression on me, in disfavour of the present government, than all the circumstances, I had heard before; for I take it to be, of all others, the strongest proof in the world, that there is an essential mischief, preying in the vitals of a country, when its inhabitants leave it, to settle in the lands of other potentates. Men, who are brought up to the arts, or to commerce, and are the inhabitants of towns, often emigrate, without a country, being in any respect on the decline, and even without its being a sign of any evil in the government; because there are always unquiet spirits, and broken fortunes, in those classes, that will ever be rambling: but for the peasants to find their lot so hard, as to quit the country of their fathers, from a prospect of meeting with a better fate in another, and even in an enemy's country, is perhaps, of all other proofs, that could be brought, the strongest, to shew, that a government is very bad, or very badly administred.

One in the company, upon seeing me solicitous in these enquiries after these tracks of waste country, said, "If you are a gentleman of curiosity in these things, you may
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convince yourself of it: I have a small estate on the north point of the Holla lake, where are a family or two; I have settled on it; I now and then take an excursion thither, for the amusement of shooting and fishing; if you will accompany me thither, I will attend you, and, perhaps, I may shew some sporting, you will like. I thanked him for this offer, which pleased me, on the first mention of it, but I told him, that I feared I should be troublesome to him in it, and that if he did not undertake the journey soon, it would not be in my power to accept the kind offer, because I was under a necessity of travelling some hundreds of leagues before winter. My good-natured Swede answered, that my company, so far from being a trouble, would be a pleasure to him, and that he would set out, as soon as I pleased, as the time was perfectly equal to him; that his friend Mr. Schronburn (in the company) was to go with him, and he believed, setting out soon, would suit him too; which being assented to, the 9th in the morning was fixed for our departure. Upon my saying that I was bound for Peterburgh, they informed me, that I might have the choice of two roads; either across Swedish Finland to Abo, if I wanted to see that province, and then to coast the gulf of Finland to Peterburgh;

tersburg; or else, that I might strike down south-east to Wyburg, and so to Petersburg; which would be a very short cut. This I said, I would consider of. I asked Mr. Hirzel (for that was the name of the merchant who made me the offer) how many miles it was to his estate? he said about one hundred and twenty, which would be near three days journey, if I was well mounted. He said, there was a cottage, about forty miles from Waffay, where we could lodge the first night; but that the second must be spent on our horses, for there were no more houses. This is no great inconvenience, in a climate, that has such long days.

This point being settled, we proceeded in our conversation, and supper relieved me, for a time, from the effluvia of their pipes. They had ordered the best entertainment, the town could afford: the fish was the principal, and the best part; there was also wild fowl and venison. The wines were tolerable, some from Spain, but chiefly Rhenish; however, there were three or four in the company, that seemed to pay their addresses to a bottle of brandy, more than to any other liquor; for they had drank it several turns, as if it was a common beverage. All the people, in these northern kingdoms, are immoderately fond of spi-

spiritous liquors: the severity of a long winter leads them into it so much, that they do not easily leave it off in the summer, and the excess to which they carry it, is very prejudicial to their health. After supper they all took to their pipes again, to my no small mortification; and pushing the bottle about pretty briskly, they were not long, altogether so clear-headed, as I could have wished for, in order, to have gained some more intelligence.

As it was settled, that I should be in town all the next day, the principal among them, the captain, invited me to dine with him, and, at the same time, asked as many of the company, as their avocations would allow. I accepted his invitation, and went accordingly, and found a company of six or seven; among whom was a clergyman, an elderly man, of an agreeable aspect; as he did not understand French, I was some time with but little conversation with him; but he asking me, if I spoke Latin, I was taken by surprize, and after a little confusion, recollected myself enough, to carry on a tolerable conversation with him afterwards, and found him a sensible, modest man. I asked him his opinion of the present state of Sweden, mentioning what had been told me the night before. He said, the account was a very true one, as to
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all this country: I replied, laws that were general, must generally affect the whole kingdom, and be equal every where; he said no; that there were great exceptions in many instances in favour of the nobility, and their lands. Upon my mentioning the substance of some conversations, I had had with a nobleman of Stockholm (meaning Baron Mistle), he said, that it was partly true, but mostly in reference to the nobility; and assured me, that in several instances, Sweden was in a very indifferent condition.

Part of this (as I just now remarked) is, I believe, true; and, as I have elsewhere observed, there is also great appearance of general good, in the regulations and laws lately made for the encouragement of useful undertakings; and, what is yet of more consequence, the appearance of the peasants, &c. and the easy manner, in which they live, and through most of the provinces on the other side the gulf of Bothnia, is a strong presumption, that there is no great degree of oppression among them. Therefore, the bad state of affairs in the eastern provinces, must be owing, in some measure at least, to some local causes, that have not a general effect. In this I was the more confirmed, from mentioning the very bad appearance, the emigration of the peasants in the

provinces adjoining the Russians, made, which looked like a very tyrannical government; that, he said, was not so strong an instance, as it might seem; for he believed, they did not so much fly from oppression or want at home, as to temptation abroad; for the Russians had emissaries constantly among them, promising mountains of rewards to all those, that would settle in Russia: and as they fully performed every thing to many of the first emigrants, it induced numbers to follow their example; and I must allow, that the encouragement given by the Russians was so much greater, than it was possible, they should well receive in their own country, without having every thing in it reversed; that they were really bribed away, in hopes, that the same of their treatment would occasion a continual increase in their numbers, which has certainly taken place; though the emigrants, I am informed, do not receive the same encouragement, as formerly. Therefore, in this instance, the depopulation of our provinces is not to be attributed to any active evil at home, but to the artful suggestions of a very cunning neighbour. I replied, that it was very bad politics in the government to allow of such emigrations; that they should have stopped them by force, if a simple law would not have had the

the effect. He agreed in this, but said, that if the emigrating peasants lived not upon the estates of the nobility, they cared very little about their staying in Sweden, or going to Russia: the worthy clergyman further observed, that there was not, in these frontier provinces, one pastor to ten flocks; so that the people had never an opportunity of being informed, in any respect, of what they owed to their native country.

My friend the Captain, who had made the entertainment, observed, that all this was very true; but that the origin of their evils was suffering the Muscovites to conquer the provinces around the gulf of Finland; for that brought them a neighbour, that could not but prove destructive in every respect. When that nation was shut out from the Baltic, Sweden possessed most of the export trade, which she now enjoys on that sea; and he justly observed, that this was owing altogether to the mischiefs brought on his country, by that madman Charles XII. This was a proposition, that nobody could contradict; for the truth of it was evident: but I remarked, that Sweden had enough left to carry her to a much higher pitch of wealth and prosperity, than she at present enjoyed; her business therefore was not to regret, what could not be recalled, but to do

whatever her present situation demanded, to make amends for past failures. They all seemed, much more to wish, than to expect this.

The next morning, I set out for Mr. Hirzel's territory, having insisted upon providing baggage, horses, and the necessary provisions for the whole journey, which, I thought, was the least I could do, in return for their civility. Both Mr. Hirzel and Mr. Schornbrun were mounted on little horses like mine, which they here call North-country horses. For a few miles from Waffay, the country is partly cultivated; that is, you here and there see a village, with some cultivated lands about it; but they are thinly scattered: and we presently got into the wilds, wherein is no appearance of any inhabitants; and this continued through the whole day's journey of forty miles, till we came to a miserable cottage, which is a kind of stragler from a neighbouring village, which is half depopulated. The country is chiefly composed of one continued forest, the trees of which are of a very fine and beautiful growth. I was curious to take notice of the appearance, which the land carries in the tracks, where it is clear of timber, and found, that it is, in general, covered with a tolerable grass; and the soil is a good rich coloured loam, tending to a clay; but, in some parts, stoney; evidently much superior to that of
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many places in Sweden, which are most profitably cultivated. It was therefore extremely plain, that it was not a fault in the country, which has been the occasion of its desolate state.

The few inclosures around the cottage, were a proof also of this; for although the peasant did not seem to be one of the most industrious; yet he had very good crops of barley and oats, and also of turneps, and he had a herd of cows, which fed upon the waste, with a parcel of young cattle, none of which seemed in their looks, to complain of their pasture.

I set my bed up in the same room, in which my fellow-travellers made theirs, of clean straw, upon which they seemed to repose as well, as on any down; which was not the worse for an hearty supper, we had made on fish and ham; and they paid their respects pretty moderately to the brandy and the wine, I had brought, which, with a continual smoaking, seemed to pass away the evening much to their satisfaction. The next morning, we continued our journey, through a wild country, which I should apprehend, must have been once tolerably inhabited; for we had a great road all the way, though overgrown with grass and weeds, but saw not the least appearance of any habitation. The timber, in this

region is very fine, and in vast quantities, and the soil in most places, rich and deep: it is impossible, but a good government actively exerted, might people such tracks of country, so very desirable, compared with many others, well stocked with inhabitants. We rode about thirty miles; and then, alighting, turned our horses to graze; and, spreading our cloth and provisions on a dry green bank, well sheltered with wood, by the side of a stream, we made an hearty meal, and rested ourselves about four hours, all of us getting a nap for refreshment: we then set forwards at an easy pace; and, travelling through the twilight, we reached the banks of the great lake, on which my friend's plantation is, about two o'clock at noon of the 11th.

The country here is very fine. The lake is a noble one, of a varying breadth, from three to more than twenty miles over; and the length is above an hundred; there are numerous islands in it, some of them two or three miles broad, and many others less. At the northern point of it, is one of these islands, about two miles from the main land, which is a part of Mr. Hirzel's possession. We came down to a few cottages on the shore, which he has built, and where a sloop lies, always in readiness to carry him over; into this we got, leaving

leaving our horses in a barn by the cottage, and taking all our baggage with us in the vessel. In crossing the water, I was much delighted with the views; the hills, in some places, rise very boldly from the lake, which has a beautiful effect, as the whole country is covered with thick woods. The island is four miles long, and three broad, consisting of various land, but in general high and dry, and most of it a wood: Mr. Hirzel built a small house here, of four rooms on a floor, having two tolerable parlours, and the whole neatly furnished: in it we found a servant and his family, who has the management of a small farm: near it are barns, stables, and other offices; and four cottages, which he also built, and are inhabited by peasants; to each of whom he assigned a small farm, which he obliges them to cultivate very neatly. It is highly necessary, that they should be good farmers; for the subsistence of themselves and cattle much depends on it, being at such a distance from any other habitation. Mr. Hirzel directs his own manager so, as to oblige him always to have good store of all products before hand. He has a cellar well filled, plenty of fish and game at command; and his farm yields him all common provisions, with good fowls: so that he is always sure of find-

ing good eating and drinking: he has a large boat-house, under which his sloop can run; and several open boats. After dinner, we took a walk about his farm, which seemed to be very well managed, and the crops good; at which I do not wonder; for the soil of the island is a fine black, dry, deep mold, peculiarly adapted, I should suppose, for all husbandry applications. As I had expressed a desire of sailing a little on the lake, for the pleasure of viewing the woods, Mr. Hirzel manned the sloop, in the morning of the 12th; and having laid in a stock of provisions and my bed, said, he would make a three days voyage for my entertainment; he steered south by the east shore, and returned by the west: we made many leagues, having a favourable wind, gaining very near the south end of the lake: nothing could be more agreeable; the water beautiful, and the surrounding country extremely various. We lived well; for his nets and hooks were excellently managed, and supplied us with many sorts of fine fish in great perfection, which we dressed and eat with an admirable stomach. We caught one carp, that weighed sixteen pounds, and Mr. Hirzel told me, that he has taken them of a larger size; but they are not so well tasted, as those of about six or seven pounds. Here are
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also pike, and tench, but not equal to what I have eat elsewhere; eels exceeding good; and a fish about the size of a trout, and of the same shape, but much superior flavour, which they call a *snout*. I must confess, that this was one of the most agreeable voyages I had ever made. We had about half a day, in which the wind being brisk, the waves ran pretty high, and gave us the exercise of beating over them.

The 15th, Mr. Hirzel dedicated to shooting, for which sport we did not go off the islands; he had a leash of spaniels there, that found us plenty of game; these were pheasants and hares, with a few partridges; but none of them equal in taste to the same sorts in England; we had a very good day's work to range about only a part of the island; and having killed game enough for our use and amusement, returned home.

Mr. Hirzel informed me, that he had this island, which contains about eight thousand acres of land, and a track contiguous to the cottages, where we first took water, of more than four thousand more, by being the principal creditor of a man at Abo, who failed; they were valued at the price of the country, and rated to him for something more, than three thousand pounds; but he had them under five and twenty hundred, which is not four of our shillings

shillings an acre for the fee simple, including all the fine woods on them. I expressed my astonishment at this; but he replied, that he had lost considerably by the purchase; having bought it for a country-seat for pleasure, that when he purchased it, it did not yield a single shilling; and that the sums, which he had hitherto laid out, did not much more, than pay the interest of them. I answered, that still I should conceive, the purchase might be made to answer extremely well, by improving the lands and converting them into farms: He said, no; he was very fearful, that no money would arise, if it was all improved; for markets were at such an immense distance, that they could pay in nothing but products. But said he, I have hopes of making it answer another way. From the very southernmost point of the lake, there is a considerable river, which falls into the gulf of Finland, at the mouth of it, there is a small trading town, which increases in shipping and commerce every day; upon that river there is a great forest, which belongs to a nobleman; and the merchants are employed at present in negotiating with him for liberty to cut what timber they please on his estate; if they succeed, they design to be at the expence of cutting a short canal to escape a fall, in order to carry down the timber to their shipping;

shipping; if that is effected, there will be a navigation opened from this island into the gulf of Finland; and I shall possess a market at once for my timber, which will turn to greater account, than any thing else that could be done; and after the timber is cleared, I can then apply it to husbandry-purposes, as the same market will take off my rents, received in kind of tenants, or raised by myself, as well as my timber. So that the moment the merchants succeed, my plan is to go and settle at Pitees, (the name of the town) that I may be on the spot, and I shall there, from superior advantages, be able to carry on a greater trade, than at Waffay; besides the advantage of exporting the products of this estate. If I should ever be able to execute these plans, my purchase here will turn out the luckiest event of my life; and might soon enable me to buy larger tracks of land upon the lake; for most of the landlords live at Stockholm, and would know nothing of such a navigation being executed, any more than of one in Iceland: for these tracks are all so desert, that very few of them yield any thing to their owners. But by my transferring my business to Pitees, I should be on the spot to make advantage of every event, as it happened; and

and it would be doubly advantageous to me, as I should be the exporter of my own products.

I asked him, if he did not apprehend, the merchants would oppose any navigation but their own, as his timber would be brought to rival theirs? He replied, they could not; for the river is the boundary of the Russian and Swedish dominions, and is free by treaty; therefore the most, that could be done, would be the establishment of a small toll. That Pitees was part Swedish and part Russian, one part of the town being in Caulia, and the other in Nyland; which was found, in many circumstances of trade, to be a prodigious advantage, and was one reason of the town flourishing. I could not comprehend clearly, how he made this out, for he did not explain himself. But it appeared evidently to me, that he has a very fair chance of his purchase proving a fortune to him; and the plan he has laid for making the best of it, seems to be perfectly well considered.

It is astonishing to reflect on the vast importance of manufactures and commerce on the value of land: here are twelve thousand acres, most of them covered thickly with the finest timber, bought for four shillings an acre the fee simple; the soil rich and fertile; materials for building of course, from the plenty of wood in the greatest profusion; a fine lake

lake, well stored with quantities of fish, and the woods full of game: In a word, every article of provisions to be procured in the greatest plenty. But for want of manufactures and trade, the value is nothing. What would not such a track sell for in a well-peopled and industrious country; in England, Holland, or France? This sufficiently shews the great consequence of population. I have heard it asked in England, when the decrease of our numbers has been the topic of discourse, of what consequence is the matter of population? It is plain, we have men enough for our armies and our navies; and our lands are cultivated; I have a thousand pounds a year, which does not fall to nine hundred, although our population, it is said, has suffered. And I must confess, that when I have heard such discourses, although I, by no means, approv'd their principle, yet did I not clearly see the consequences. This country supplies one with an answer at once. The rental of a private gentleman's estate depends on the sum total of the nation's population. If there are scarcely any inhabitants as in these provinces of Sweden, the estate will sell for four shillings an acre, timber and all; but if the country is full of inhabitants, like England, it will sell for twenty pounds, and the timber, perhaps, for two hundred more.

Between

Between such distant extremes there will certainly be many degrees, and some of them so near to each other, that it will be difficult to see their distinctions; but such are evidently in being, and must ever be found in proportion to the number of the people; if agriculture could alone find mouths enough to eat up and consume all the products, she raises, then manufactures and commerce would not, in this light, be necessary; but it is every where known, that a territory compleatly cultivated, will provide food, &c. for a greater number of people, than are employed in the cultivation: hence arises the deduction, that manufactures and commerce are but other names for full population, which can only be gained by their means.

From this island of my friend Mr. Hirzel, I was determined, what route I should take to Petersburg: upon consideration, and after making many enquiries, I resolved to go through the province of Savolax to the capital of it, the only town of any note in it, which is Nyssot; and thence to Wyburg, in my way to the Russian capital. The 17th, in the morning, I took my leave of Mr. Hirzel and his friend, and set off for Pexama, a little town at the distance of seventy miles; which is all through the forest: it took me two days; but
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I met with no houses; therefore all my refreshment and rest was a meal taken on the grass, and a nap upon the same pillow. I have seen a Swedish map, which places seven villages in this road; but I had now sufficient reason to pronounce it erroneous: the country is all a rich soil, and covered, in most places, very thickly with fine timber: A country, which would feed numerous inhabitants; and is all admirably watered; for I was more than once, in sight of great lakes; but it is in the most desolate condition, and yields not any advantage to its possessors. From Pexama to Nyflot is between fifty and sixty miles; all the way on the banks of a very noble lake, which, from its narrowness and winding course, has exactly the appearance of a great river. The country is all forest; but I saw two or three villages; at one of which I took up my lodging: there were some small farms, which appeared to be tolerably cultivated; and I found, that this lake, along which I had passed, was navigable quite to the gulph of Finland; and that the villages, I saw, were owing to this circumstance; for the timber of the forest was conveyed thither to advantage; and the cutting and preparing it found employment for the people.

Nyflot

Nyflot is a little neat town, beautifully situated in a nook of land, that runs into the lake, with which it is chiefly surrounded. The church is a new building and handsome; the streets are some of them well paved and tolerably built; and there was an appearance of wealth among the inhabitants, all of which, I found, was owing to the timber trade: for two or three miles round the town the country is well cultivated, and shews plainly, what the rest of it is capable of, did it possess the same advantage of a market.

The 21st in the morning, I left Nyflot, and took the road to Wyburg, which is at the distance of 60 miles: the first day carried me into Caulia in the Russian territories, where I was forced to hire a fresh servant to serve me as an interpreter; but unfortunately, I could only get a Russian, that understood Swedish, which language I began to speak a little: so I hired him for the present use, till I got to Peterburgh.

Upon entering the Russian territories, I was convinced, that the intelligence, I had received at Waffay, was true; that the Russians tempted the Swedes to settle in their provinces, and at the same time took all means of increasing the population of their dominions; for I not only saw and conversed with many Swedes,

Swedes, but the country was, upon the whole, well peopled with Russians, far superior to the Swedish provinces in their best districts, that I have been in. All of it was cultivated, tho' not highly, and every thing carried the appearance of a thriving country, that had nothing to complain of. I arrived at Wyburg the 22d: it is a place of considerable trade, which has increased greatly of late years, by the encouragements, it has received from the Russians. Vast quantities of timber are exported from hence; so that the harbour, which is a very good one, is seldom, while the sea is open, without many ships in it. The provinces of Caulia and Kexholm furnish this timber, and great quantities come from Savolax, through a part of Sweden; this timber trade has increased prodigiously, since the Russians cut a fine canal to open a communication with the northern lakes, by which means, trees are brought from the distance of four hundred miles in rafts, and for a great part of the way, five men are sufficient to bring down ten thousand rafts.

The 23d, I set out for Peterburgh, which is two days journey, the distance about sixty miles. The country, though so near the capital of the Russian empire, is not all cultivated, which surprized me much; a great

part of it consists of forests, and there are many marshes ; but still it is much superior to the Finland provinces of Sweden, better inhabited and better cultivated. But here it is time to take my leave of Sweden ; however, I shall add some general observations, I made on the people of that kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

*General Reflections on the State of Sweden—
Religion—Learning—The fine Arts—Man-
ner of Life—Government—Agriculture—
Manufactures—Commerce—Wealth—Popu-
lation—Travelling.*

THE common idea of the Swedes, which I have gathered from conversation and reading, has been that of their being good soldiers, active, brave, and hardy ; but that few of them are ingenious, or have abilities to make a figure in other arts or walks in life. This has been owing to the actions, that were performed by Charles XII. which were such proofs of their courage, that the rest of Europe too soon believed, they were capable of being famous in war alone. I profess myself clearly against this idea, which I am confident, is a very false one ; they make
good

good soldiers, it is true, but they are capable of making any thing else. I have attended with as much assiduity, as I was able, and upon all the opportunities that I have had in my power, which have been many, I think, they seem to have as good parts, as any other nation in Europe, and much superior to some. They are, by no means, dull of apprehension; are ready in their answers upon any subject, with which they are acquainted; have nothing of phlegm in their character: they are in general as chearful a nation, as I know, not a noisy bustling people, that are one moment in grief, and the next laughing: they have not so much vivacity as the French, but I think, they have, upon the whole, as much as the English. They are, in general, a very patient and an industrious people, and capable, with proper encouragement from the government, of making a great progress in the arts and sciences, and in manufactures and commerce; all which are very valuable qualities, when they meet in a nation of such acknowledged bravery.

Respecting religion, they are guided in a great measure by plain good sense; though a free country, they are not pestered with noisy sects; neither are they at all violent in the conduct of the established faith; and, altho'

a great part of the kingdom is very ignorant, yet I saw fewer signs of superstition, than in any country I have been in, Holland and England alone excepted.

Among the better sort of people, and the higher ranks, there is a great deal of learning: a good education in Sweden fits a man to shine in any country in Europe: in their schools, they learn Greek, Latin, French, English, and German; so that there are very few instance of a young man's understanding the dead languages, and not at the same time being master of two or three very useful living ones, which is much more, than can be said of our youth in England.

They have several universities, which are provided with very able professors; in these seminaries, the favourite knowledge is natural history and the mathematicks; and herein they shew their good sense as much, as any nation in Europe; for there are no other parts of knowledge, that deserve so much attention, the rest being for ornament alone; but these are useful in every branch of life. Many of their mathematicians are in general esteem, as they are very rarely without several, whose works are known to all Europe. In natural history, they are unrivalled; but they do not owe their fame in this branch merely

merely to Linnæus, for before he was born, this study was the favourite one in their universities, and they have produced many men, that gained them great reputation for their works, but they have since been eclipsed by Linnæus, and his numerous disciples.

I have been in many mixed companies in Sweden, and I do not remember conversing with any gentleman, that had not a considerable share of knowledge, and plainly shewed on most topics, that he had had the advantage of an excellent education.

They are most deficient in the polite arts; you look in vain for a painter, a poet, a statuary, or a musician. If the Abbé du Bos's system is a just one, this is the fault alone of their climate; but without attributing it to physical causes, we may find a reason in the moral ones. The fine arts never make a great progress in any country, till it becomes immensely rich, and very luxurious: the arts are the children of luxury; without a great flow of expence, running through every class of the people, we may pronounce, that a nation is not rich enough for the fine arts to settle among them: the artists, that excel, must always be sure of something more, than a competency, they must have affluence; they are generally men of warm imaginations, and

lovers of pleasure. They must indulge their inclinations, and not be cramped in poverty, while they are attempting to produce works, that shall be the admiration of succeeding ages. Hence, all the famous ages, in which the arts have arisen to a great degree of eminence, from many very famous men being cotemporaries, have universally been the richest and most luxurious ages in the world: not that wealth alone is sufficient without luxury. The Dutch are very wealthy, but they are not a luxurious nation; artists would starve there in the midst of riches. Both luxury and wealth abound in the kingdoms of Asia, but then a despotism, excessively severe, destroys every nobler effort of the mind.

The Swedes have no poets: some attempt that sort of composition, but it is always in Latin, and consequently of no merit: their painters never rise higher, than very bad portrait ones: the same fashion obtaining in Sweden as in England, where, till very lately, we had nothing but portrait painters, because no others met with any encouragement. You hear very good music at Stockholm, but it is all by German musicians. This is not therefore a kingdom, to which any person would resort to be entertained by the fine arts.

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They have a theatre at Stockholm, on which, during a part of the year, French comedies are represented, sometimes concerts, and oratorios, but the times of acting are very irregular, not meeting always with encouragement enough to keep it open, even in the winter; so that it has been known to be shut up for two years together. Another thing, which takes much from the gaiety of this capital, is, the court not being at all brilliant; which is owing, in some measure, to the smallness of the royal revenue, and to the present state of parties, which occasions many of the principal nobility to absent themselves.

The manners of all ranks of people in Sweden are very agreeable; the superior classes have an easy natural politeness, which prejudices you in their favour at first acquaintance. They have not a swift, or formal, nor pert or foppish, but a plain easy carriage and manner, which is the result of good sense and humanity. Their conversation is agreeable; and they pay great attention of foreigners, without troubling them with national customs and ceremonies. Duels are not common at Stockholm; yet the men have very just ideas of their honour, and as unwilling to put up with affronts, as more tenacious and quarrelsome nations.

The principal expences, into which they run, are those of the table, dress, and equipage. People of large fortune keep prodigious tables, which are served with all the magnificence, that is found in France and England, and the variety of their wines have no end. In dress, also, they appear prodigal; and their equipages, from their number, are expensive, but not executed in the shewy taste of Paris. However, these articles of luxury, in their greatest degree, are confined to a few families, whose wealth is very considerable; for, in general, the nobility are not rich: there are many private estates in Germany, that much exceed any in Sweden.

The way of dividing the residence of winter and summer, as practised in England, takes place here, only in part; many of the nobility and richest of the gentry, live entirely at Stockholm, scarcely ever seeing their estates; others live entirely in the country, never seeing the capital, at least, but very seldom: some, however, have houses at Stockholm for the winter season, but live in summer on their estates, having very good houses, which they ornament with gardens and plantations.

As to the present state of the government of Sweden, I could enter in a pretty long detail of some changes and other circumstances,

ces, that have attended it lately, but as great part of my information is drawn from people, that are deeply concerned, I do not chuse to say much upon the subject. But I shall observe, that the government is a plain republick, the king, being no more than the first magistrate, with very little power, not so much as a stadtholder of Holland in several essential articles. There are convulsions in the administration of affairs, which threaten a total change; for here is an apparent contradiction, which is, a king and the people on one side, and the nobility on the other; most of the important authority is in the hands of the latter, who are in fact the legislature of the kingdom; but disputes, parties and dissensions are grown to an amazing height, and bid fair for coming to open arms; at all events, some great revolution may be looked for; and the event may easily be conjectured, while the people, united under a leader of the first rank in the kingdom with some prerogative, are on one hand, and the nobility on the other; a dispute, in such a situation, cannot fail of being fatal to the latter. Indeed, I never knew affairs in any country in a situation, that promised so fairly, for bringing in an absolute sway, in the same manner, as it was introduced in Denmark; many moderate men in Sweden
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lament the dissensions, which do so much mischief to the kingdom, and assert, that if they had a designing prince on the throne, it would be very easy for him to seize as great a power, as ever Charles XII. enjoyed.

At the same time, that they are of this opinion, they make no scruple to declare, the change would be for the advantage of the kingdom, and that no government, regular in its operations, can be so bad, as the present irregular scene of anarchy and faction. But herein, they certainly carry their ideas to a very dangerous length, notwithstanding many and great errors of government, and some oppressions among the peasants; yet I am clear, that the countrymen, throughout the kingdom, enjoy a great degree of liberty, and are left in quiet possession of their property; their taxes are, in some instances, very unequal; they are kept at much distance by the nobility, and have none of that licentiousness allowed them, which is such a disgrace to England: But, notwithstanding all these circumstances, I will venture to pronounce them, beyond all comparison, a happier people in every respect, than they would be, were their government absolute. Let those, who have travelled through France and Sweden, form an idea of the state of the peasants in both, and they will
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not for a moment hesitate at agreeing to this truth.

By lodging with the peasants in so many journeys, through the remote provinces of the kingdom, I had the opportunity of examining very minutely into their condition, and I remarked them, in general, to be a very contented happy people; there are few cottages in Sweden, that have not lands annexed to them, by which means they raise many products, which are of infinite use to them in keeping themselves and families. England, it will certainly be allowed, is as free a country, as any man can wish; and yet our labourers have very seldom more, than a small spot for a garden, which is too inconsiderable to be of much service to them; nor are the English near so well satisfied with their lot, as the Swedish peasants; they are not so tightly dressed, their cottages are not near so good, and their poverty in general, is much more apparent; all which I attribute to the circumstance of the Swedes, having those small farms with herds of cattle on the waste, which are of infinitely more value to them, than all the amount of those taxes, which they pay, and from which their brethren in England are not only exempted, but have also the advantage of rates, publicly raised for their assistance;

ance ; of which there is nothing of the kind in Sweden : I know not three peasants in that kingdom, that have not a farm of twenty or thirty acres of land at least, and several herd of cattle. Here indeed, I should give an explanation, for if this was the case in England, we should have no such thing as a labourer to be hired ; all would attend merely to their lands ; but in Sweden there is no inconvenience in this, for the peasants, who work regularly in the woods for hire, have the same ; but their wives and daughters manage their farms, so that the men are not taken from their usual labour, three days out of forty. This is a most admirable custom for themselves, as well as the kingdom, and makes the population of a kingdom, wherever it is practised, of far more account, than at first it appears. It would be in vain to attempt introducing this custom into England, for the great degree of idleness, in which the cottagewoman live with us, would be an unsurmountable obstacle.

Notwithstanding I have, in different parts of my journal, minuted the remarks, I made on the present state of agriculture in the provinces, I passed through ; I must here repeat, that the Swedes are universally good husbandmen ; I saw no lands, laid out and cultivated,
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in such good order, in any part of Germany, and the Danes are also far behind them; the peasants and farmers in Sweden, who cultivate only for a subsistence, keep their lands in good order, and raise such crops, that their fields would be no disgrace to a middling cultivated part of England; while their farmers as have good markets in view, would figure in the finest counties of this kingdom. Their crops of corn I observed, were in general good and clean, that they keep large stocks of cattle, and provide plenty of food for them to subsist on in winter. If it is considered, what a vast quantity of waste land is found throughout the kingdom, most of which, almost any body, that will, may take under the payment of a very trifling rent; this good husbandry will appear the more extraordinary, as their having so much land in their power, it might be expected, would make them slovenly, yet the contrary is the case, for they take no more, than they can manage well, and by that means, I apprehend, find their husbandry more profitable, than it would otherwise be.

The reader may have remarked, that I have almost every where mentioned, wheat being cultivated by them; this, I think, is a very extraordinary instance of docility and good sense;

sense ; a few years ago, that grain was cultivated only in a few of the southern provinces, and on soils, picked up with much care for it ; but when the prohibition on the exportation from English put the Swedish government strongly on promoting the culture at home, the farmers, throughout the kingdom, readily came into the plan, and sowed so much, every year, increasing the quantity regularly, from that time to this, that, at present, it is spread all over the kingdom ; such an instance, I dare to say, is not, in any article of culture, to be met with in England ; and from this instance, it is very evident, that the common ideas of difficulties, in the introduction of novelties, are many of them very false ; for if any person had ventured to propose the culture of wheat in Sweden, fifty years ago, at least, in many of the provinces, where we now find it, he would have been thought mad ; but none of these things can be well known, till a full and sufficient trial is made of them. The Swedes are now so well informed, by experience, in the culture of wheat, that some judicious and spirited laws would, I doubt not, enable them to raise quantities enough, for a considerable exportation, so as to enable them to come in with the Poles for a share of a supply for the Dutch, and the
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more southern nations of Europe: some bounties, properly applied, would effect this: not bounties, as in England, on the exportation, but to all those farmers, who cultivated, given quantities of wheat, in a second round of years, on lands, taken from the waste; for the great object is, the encreasing the quantity of cultivated land, by improving the wild tracks, and, at the same time, applying them to raising a valuable sort of corn, that is sure to pay well for exportation. By making the grand object, the raising the corn, instead of the exportation of it, the home consumption would always have the refusal at the market, which is not always the case in England. Laws should likewise be made to enable any peasant, farmer, or other, to take in as much of the waste, which joins his farm, as he pleases, without paying any rent for twenty years, and afterwards, only a moderate one for the life of the improver: this would be a wonderful encouragement to all the inhabitants of the country, and would certainly, in a few years, bring great quantities of wheat to market, till the home consumption not taking the whole, a regular and profitable exportation, would, of course, be established. For bringing about such great works as these, nothing is wanted, but to bring affairs into such

such a train, that private people, by pushing their own interests, must, at the same time, advance those of their country; for if ever there is a distinction made, nothing can arise from it, but evil upon evil. Encouragement should also be given to the draining bogs and marshes, which in Sweden, are universally the richest tracks to be met with, but this is a work beyond the power of most cultivators, without the assistance of the government; nothing would effect it, but a premium of so much per acre, large enough to go far towards the whole expence; and if such premiums of whatever kind, amounted to a considerable expence, it should be raised by fresh taxes, or an increase of the old ones, over the whole kingdom; for the benefit, purchased, would be of importance to the whole, and therefore the whole ought to contribute.

Nothing wants a wise regulation more, than the woods in this kingdom; for the waste, that is made in cutting them, both of timber and land, is extravagantly great. The attention, which M. de Verspot has given to this article, shews what should be done, and the manner also, in which the undertaking should be prosecuted. No profitable woods ought to be destroyed, unless the land is converted immediately to husbandry uses. That noble-
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man's excellent method of thinning his woods is certainly the rational conduct, and ought to be enforced over the whole kingdom.

There is no country, in which inland navigations would be attended with better consequences; for all their products are very bulky, and must have water-carriage, or they cannot be got to market. Many of the rivers of Sweden are navigable; but there are many tracks, covered with the finest woods, which yield scarcely any product, for want of water-carriage, at the same time, that considerable rivers run through them, which might, at a very small expence, be made navigable, only by removing local obstructions, and not by a general deepening or widening.

Few countries are better supplied with harbours, many of which are extremely spacious and safe; and the number is so considerable, that their trade will never stand still for want of them, in any part of the kingdom.

Relative to the Swedish manufactures, I shall, in general, remark, that from what I viewed myself, and had intelligence of from others, they are not considerable. Some of the nobility say, that they have carried their point, in making the Swedes cloath them-

elves with cloth and linen of their own fabric; but this is a very great exaggeration. The peasants are universally clothed with a coarse woollen cloth, that is made at home, and some other of the lower ranks of the people. There are also some gentlemen and nobles, who, thro' patriotism, wear Swedish cloth, that is pretty fine, but that is, by no means, general, and the cloth is much dearer, than much finer sorts from England and France. These manufactories, which they have been able to erect, are not so considerable, as this account may seem at first to indicate; for it should be remembered, that the peasants were always, nine parts in ten, clothed in the same array as now, which is not with manufactory cloth, but with that, which is spun, and wove in their own houses by their women; so that the new establishments are not very considerable; it is true, they increase, and, if good attention is given to encourage and protect them, they will, in some years, grow to be of very great consequence to Sweden, and not only entirely supply their own consumption with all, except the fine French cloths, but also furnish coarse ones enough for exportation, in exchange for the finer sorts; and this will be pushing the advantage, as far as ever they can
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look for; but in the present state of things, they are far distant from this point, and, unless the animosities, which distract the government, are so entirely laid aside, as to make all parties join in one work, and attend to that alone, viz. the good of the kingdom, there is no hope of their attaining to that desirable state.

They have some linen fabricks, in which are wrought very good sorts, both of hemp and flax; but they are not near considerable enough to supply their home consumption. Of glass and paper they import very little. Hardware is a considerable article among them, not in the stile of our Birmingham manufactures, but principally in the foundery way: they cast great numbers of cannon, which they export to all Europe; also bells in great number, and many other articles. Indeed, they are unrivalled in their iron and copper mines, which are far more considerable, than those of any other country in Europe; so that they apply copper to most of the purposes, that we do lead in England, such as coverings to their churches, public buildings, and great private edifices, &c.

Commerce flourishes more in Sweden, than it did some years ago: to what this is owing, I could not discover; for their products are not greater, in proportion, to the increase of

their shipping; and though several very judicious laws have been made for its encouragement, yet I should not have supposed, the effect would have been answerable, to what appears, unless other reasons had conspired at the same time. However, the fact is, that their shipping is much increased, their ships they build of a greater burthen, and they engage in more trading voyages, than formerly. This is a point of very great importance; for, if they are able to export the principal part of their iron, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and copper in their own bottoms, it will add more, than any thing else, to the wealth of the kingdom; at the same time, that their naval force will be increased greatly, which is the best and most useful force, they can cherish. Increasing their shipping is improving and accelerating the markets for all their products, and cannot but increase them in a very high degree. The building and fitting out the ships is the most advantageous manufacture in the kingdom, and that, which more than any other, brings wealth into the country. The branches of commerce, which they have more particularly increased of late years, are the East-India trade, the trade to Portugal, Spain, and the Mediterranean; that of England, Holland, and France, is not improved. Some persons are in doubt about
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the German branch of their commerce, but, I believe, that is rather greater, than it was.

The general effects, which flow from an improving agriculture and increasing manufactures and commerce, are a greater degree of national wealth, more of the precious metals, and an increasing population. From the best intelligence I could get, the kingdom, I believe, is more wealthy, than it was twenty years ago. It contains more money, and is upon the increase in that article; but as to population, it has made no progress, and many persons affirm, that there is a decline in it. How far this is consistent with the improvement in the other particulars, I shall not determine; but I may remark, that in general those circumstances are attended by an increasing people. What causes should have wrought contrary effects in Sweden, I am not able to ascertain; but, as the people are often numbered, (though not accurately, nor all the classes) the fact is pretty well confirmed. It should make one doubt the extent of those improvements; for I must own, I have little idea of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce improving, without population, increasing exactly in the same proportion; for an increasing people can only be owing to the inhabitants, finding an ease in maintaining themselves, and their families no

burthen, which is effected by a great plenty of employment; and improving agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, is increasing employment, and consequently the people.

Travelling in Sweden, unless upon the system, which I followed, is a very uneasy affair; in the moment, you get out of the few great roads there are, which do not lead through a fifth of the kingdom, you will meet with difficulties; but in the great roads, if you have your own carriage, the post-horses, boys, and accommodations, have nothing objectible in them, and you are sure of meeting with great civility in all the inns, and from every person, with whom you have the least connection on the road. But, when you leave these great roads, then the stage, in distance from inn to inn, is very great, and the accommodation, though with much civility, very indifferent. If your bed is carried with you, and you can ride the whole journey, every peasant's house is open to you with the utmost hospitality; and they will, for very trifling rewards, do whatever is in their power to serve you. Without precautions, the diet will be very indifferent; but they will get you fish, wild fowl, and venison, excellent of the kind, with which you may load a horse from place to place, while it keeps. And this will remedy every inconvenience. Wine is easily carried.

Trave ls

Travels through Russia.

H 4

THE END OF THE WORLD

C H A P. IV.

*Description of Petersburg—General Accounts
of the Empire of Russia—The Empress—
Government—Manufactures—Trade—Army
—Navy—Present State,*

I Arrived at Petersburgh, the evening of the 24th, and, as I designed making some stay in the city, determined to hire private lodgings; for I had been informed, that the public inns were not only very extravagant, but also very bad, which, indeed, is the case in all capitals, for, where the people of quality do not go, (having houses of their own) one is always sure of meeting with very indifferent treatment. I hired a first floor, consisting, after the Russian fashion, of two dining-rooms, a drawing-room, dressing-room, and bed-chamber, besides servants' apartments, for three guineas a week; such a suit of rooms at London, it would be very difficult to have at twelve. Petersburg is built on several islands, which were once nothing more, than marshy spots of mud, over-run with reeds: but the immortal Peter, whose undertakings, in every thing, carried a magnificence of idea in them, that can never be sufficiently admired, converted a miserable bog into a fine city.

And

And here, I cannot avoid answering the reflections of several writers against that immortal monarch, for sacrificing more than half a million of men in founding this city. The Czar's object was to become an European power, which, without a port on the Baltic, he could not, but he might as well have pretended to be an American one. His vast dominions, though contiguous to Poland, and themselves a part of Europe, were, at such a distance from the European theatre, and in so barbarous a state, that nothing, but opening himself a way to the Baltic, could possibly bring his grand plan to bear. By founding this city, and making it the capital of his empire, and a sea-port, fit to receive the naval force, he destined to act on that sea, he answered all his purposes at one stroke; and, consequently, could scarcely pay too dearly for the proposed advantage. As to the loss of such numbers of lives, the fault certainly was not so much owing to the steadiness of the Czar's adhering to his plan, as not taking proper care of the men, while they were at the work; since every one must be very sensible, that works, to the full as great, as any he executed, could now be performed in England, under similar circumstances, comparatively speaking, without the loss of a man. But the consequences, which,

we all know, have flowed from the founding this city, have been of such infinite importance to the Russian empire, that no expence, that could ever have been incurred, would have been too great for gaining such signal benefits. Petersburg is the soul of commerce in all these Northern parts; it is the foundation, on which all the Russian naval force has been erected; and the port, on which their nursery of sailors most depends. At the same time, that these capital circumstances attend it, must be acknowledged, that it is very deficient, as a receptacle of the men of war of a great empire; for the depth of water, the freshness of it, the docks, yards, every thing at Petersburg, are against the use of it for that purpose. The yards are at Petersburg, but the depth of water is so inconsiderable, that nothing can be put aboard the first-rate men of war, before they are conveyed to Cronstot, which is not easily done neither. Once, this work was effected by means of most expensive machines, but now, they come without that difficulty, by means of the new canal, which is not however so complete, but that infinite attention is necessary for conducting them. It is not only men of war, however, that are built in these yards: galleys * are much

* Count Algarotti, mentioning the naval power of the Russians,

much in use for the Baltick; but, as this empire has experienced of late great changes, in the

Russians, observes, "Galleys are here the proper things. Be there never so little water, there is always enough for them. They glide between the little islands and the rocks; they can land any where. The Czar was sensible of it at last, and sent for galley-builders from Venice. I met with one of them greatly advanced in years, and was not a little surprised to hear terminations in *ao* in sixty degrees of latitude. The galleys, that one sees here, are of different sizes; there are small ones, which carry about one hundred and thirty men, and others much larger. They are all armed with two pieces of cannon on the prow, and furnished with chace-guns and swivels on the sides. The Czar gave to each of them the name of a Russian fish. Now they are numbered, as the legions were; there are upwards of one hundred and thirty of them, and they are to be much more numerous. By this means, an army of thirty thousand men is transported with great ease. Rowing is to the Russian soldiers, what the exercise of swimming was to the Romans. Every foot-soldier learns to handle the oar at the same time as the musket, by which means, without maritime commerce, and without embargoes, the Russians have always crews ready for their galleys. They cast anchor every night, and land, where it is least expected. When disembarked, they draw them up upon the land, range them in a circle, with their prows and artillery pointed outward, and thus they have in a trice a fortified camp. They leave five or six battallions to guard it, and with the rest of their troops over-run the country, and lay it under contribution. The expedition ended, they re-embark, and begin again in another quarter. Sometimes they transport their vessels from one water to another over a slip of land, as was practised by the antients, on several occasions, and particularly

the system of politics, the use of galleys vary. In a war, on the coast of the Baltic, they are increased in number; but, when a peace comes, they are neglected, and not kept up, in the manner they ought to be. During the late war, they might have annoyed the Prussian dominions, infinitely more than they did; but the great army was the only thing attended to.

Petersburg is amazingly increased in size within these forty years: At the death of Peter the Great, it did not contain eighty thousand

cularly after the example of Mahomet II. at the siege of Constantinople.

“The Swedes can testify, whether these Russian galleys are formidable. They have seen them ravage their rich mines of Norkopping, the whole coasts of Gothland and Sudermania, and shew themselves, even before Stockholm.”——He also adds another circumstance, which is worthy of note, concerning the timber used for ship-building here.——“Of what wood do you think the ships are built at Petersburg? It is a species of oak, which is at least two summers upon the road, before it arrives. It comes ready cut by the carpenter from the kingdom of Casan. It goes a little way up the Wolga, then the Tuertza, passes through a canal into the sea, from thence into the Mesta, and, by means of the Volcova, falls into a canal, which conveys it into the lake Ladoga, from thence it descends at last by the Neva to Petersburg. I saw in this port a sloop, built at Casan, from whence it came by the rivers, I have just mentioned, which join the Caspian sea to the Baltick, and are a quite different thing from the famous canal of Languedoc.”

thousand inhabitants, and now the Russians assert, that there are five hundred thousand; but this is an exaggeration. It covers a very great extent of land and water; the streets are some of them very broad, long, and with canals in the middle of them; and others are planted in the Dutch fashion; which, I before observed, is a wretched plan; the houses are immensely large: the palaces of the nobility, I think, exceed in size those of any city, I have seen; and that of the Empress is an amazing structure: but let me remark, that they are rather great, than beautiful: the size is all, that strikes you: and these prodigious piles are stuck so thick with ornaments, that there is hardly any such thing, as judging of their proportions: the Italian architecture is mixed with the Dutch, and the whole forms very inelegant buildings, in which true taste is totally sacrificed to a profusion of ornament. But if the eye does not scrutinize into the separate parts of the buildings, but takes only the streets at large, the city may be fairly pronounced a very fine one.

The Czar himself spared no pains in rendering it as strong as possible; for being at the very extremity of his dominions, close to his enemies the Swedes, and open to the attacks, which were possible to arise from his European connections,

connections, he made a point of having it impregnable; but herein he certainly failed. There are many forts, and whole shores converted into platforms, and lined from end to end with great guns. These works begin at Cronstot, which is made very strong, and they last to the city. There is a citadel, regularly built, and capable, not only of protecting the city on one side, but also of itself standing a siege. Yet there are many seamen, who assert, that a fleet of ships well manned and conducted, and provided with a proper number of fireships, and bomb-ketches, would, without any great difficulty, lay all Petersburg in ashes. I must own myself of a very different opinion, for here is always a very considerable fleet of men of war, from 60 to 100 guns, with numerous sailors, that could man them on a very short notice; these ships, properly disposed by way of batteries, would render such an attempt impracticable, even if the fortifications are granted to be deficient, which is more, than will be allowed by many officers, well skilled in this part of their art.

Among the public buildings, there are many, extremely worthy the attention of a traveller, particularly the dock yards and naval magazines, the arsenal, foundery, admiralty, &c. without insisting on the imperial palace,
the

the cathedral, or many churches. In the docks, they have a great number of carpenters continually at work, among whom are many English, discharged by the government, on the conclusion of the peace in 1763, they meet with great encouragement here, and are much better employed, than if in the service of France or Spain. They build here all sorts of vessels, from ships of one hundred and twenty guns, (and some, much larger have been known) down to boats, and the number, always on the stocks at a time, is considerable. After the death of Peter the Great, the marine was neglected, insomuch, that the Empress's naval strength was not computed to be a fifth part of what, that great monarch possessed, and this was owing to a want of trade, which can alone make seamen; unless, when in the hands of such a man as Peter, who created every thing: But the present Empress, who has thrown the spirit of that great monarch into all the departments of the state, has revived it wonderfully, so that at present the Russians have a formidable navy, and, in a few years, will have a yet more considerable one.

There is scarcely any thing at Petersburg, more deserving notice, than the foundery: The iron is brought from Kexholm by water,
and

and the number of cannon and mortars, that are cast here, is very great; also cannon balls, shells, and all sorts of military implements, in which iron is used; which are made here at as small an expence, as in Sweden, or any other part of the world. The arsenal is always well stored with them; and there are vast quantities, made on a private account for exportation, forming a very considerable branch of commerce.

The trade of Petersburg is much more considerable, than that of any other town in the Russian empire; and would figure, on comparison, with many very great marts in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately, that vast commerce is, nine-tenths of it, carried on in foreign bottoms. The Dutch alone load annually here with timber, iron, and all sorts of naval stores, a great many ships, and the English many more.

The commodities, these nations carry from Petersburg, are tar, bees wax, pitch, hemp, flax, leather, skins, furs, pot-ashes, timber, plank, iron, yarn, linen, lintseed, &c. and these in such quantities, that the very balance of trade, between Great-Britain and Russia, has been reckoned at four hundred thousand pounds a year, against the former; the amount of the total commerce may therefore be easily conceived. The royal navy of Eng-

land is almost totally supplied with hemp from Petersburg, also with great quantities of iron, and other naval stores, and all the shipping in England likewise; and this importation has increased very much, since the Swedes laid a prohibition on our manufactures, so that the importation, from that country, was reduced to the few articles, which necessity obliged us to have from thence; and all the rest very politically transferred to Russia.

The great amount of the commerce, between us and this empire, has been the occasion of very many political dissertations and treatises, proving the necessity of encouraging the production of all the commodities, we import from Russia, in our colonies; and I think, our politicians have not, in any instance, had better grounds for their opinions, or supported their propositions with more unanswerable arguments. A trading nation should never regret parting with its money, when she thereby adds to her industry; but, in this case, we pay three or four hundred thousand pounds a year to Russia for those commodities, which our own colonies would produce; and the difference is, that now we pay in cash, but to our colonies, we should pay in manufactures: consequently, for want of this measure, being effected, we lose the employment

ployment of so many of our poor, as could earn the whole amount of that sum; and we also lose the general profit, resulting to the nation at large, by their earning such a sum of money; for any increase of our national income, raised by an increase of industry, is beneficial to us, in a much greater degree, than the mere amount of it. To illustrate this, let us consider the advantage to Russia, of our paying her a balance of three or four hundred thousand pounds. That balance is paid to a certain number of merchants and dealers at Petersburg and other ports; they pay it to a set of landlords, miners, husbandmen, and manufacturers. These again pay it to all the manufacturers, tradesmen, &c. with whom they deal; and these to a fresh set. Now every art, trade, business, and profession, in the whole empire, come in for an additional income, from this sum, circulating through the mass of industry; and every one of them are essentially the richer. If this circulation could be traced, it would probably be found, that three hundred thousand pounds a year, gained in the precious metal, were equal, in general by improvement, to the value of nine or twelve hundred thousand pounds a year. Because, no one can be supposed to have an increase of income in Russia,

any more than any where else, without increasing his expences proportionably; that is, he buys more food, more cloth, more shoes, employs more builders, and, in a word, more artists of all sorts. None of which can increase, without reciprocal benefits, flowing back again; and the government, from the whole circulation in every step it takes, seizes a part, by means of taxes. This is but a slight sketch of the effects of an increasing wealth; to explain it fully, would take a much greater compass.

The greatest trade at Petersburg is carried on by the English; next in rank, come the Dutch; as to the French, they deal here, as little as possible; for the two crowns are very far from being on a good footing; the French and the Swedes being in close alliance, they therefore trade to Sweden for all those commodities, which England gets from Russia, some few excepted, which are not to be had at that market. Notwithstanding this, they consume large quantities of French commodities in Russia, but these come to them, principally through the hands of the Dutch.

The building this capital has had a very great effect in improving large tracks of land in the surrounding provinces: The corn and other provisions, which are brought hither,

ther, and the variety of merchandize, that is exported from hence, employ some of the most considerable inland navigations in the world. The Neva, the great lakes of Lagoda and Onega; the Tuerka, the Mesta, the Volcova, and the Wolga, all these rivers, with many others, tho' some of them are at a great distance, keep open a communication between Petersburg and those noble tracks of country upon the Caspian and Euxine seas: but it may be supposed, that the greatest advantages are made by the people, who have not such a distance to go; so that the products of all the neighbouring provinces are infinitely greater, than those of others more distant.

I have heard, some Russians affirm, that all this seeming increase of culture, of manufactures, and of commerce, is imaginary; that it is all owing to the sovereign's fixing the seat of government here, which has not raised a new population, but drawn an old one from other provinces. Moscow was once the metropolis, and the seat of government, &c. and Novogorod, the great staple of trade; but Petersburg now is both; and has half depopulated those cities, as well as Archangel, which was once a place of very great trade. In answer to this, I allow, that part of the assertion is true; that much of the population

of this city, and its neighbourhood, is owing to a desertion of other places; but, at the same time, I must insist, that a new population must have been created by means of this city, because a new industry has sprung up, new trades opened, new manufactures established, and innumerable artists employed, which were not in being before; and many of which could not have been in being, had not this city been founded. There is no doubt, but the Russian commodities found, in small quantities, their way into Europe, before Peter the Great's time; but every one must be sensible of the comparative smallness of the quantity, when they had not an European port, and when all their products, in order to get to the Baltick, were forced to submit to a long land carriage through an enemy's country, and subject to whatever duties, that enemy chose to lay on them. The present method of carrying on their trade, manufactures and products has, I think, every advantage over the former; and if this is allowed, it follows of course, that population is proportionably increased, and wealth most certainly; both which have a direct effect in raising the value of land, for a great distance around the capital.

But the building of the city was a work of the Great Peter's, which is giving it all the
illustration,

illustration, that is necessary; for if ever mortal was endowed with the true art of governing, with that kind of universal genius, equally great in practice and speculation, it was him. All his ideas, all his plans, had something so great and comprehensive in them; such a power of foreseeing future events, and such abilities, in providing for them, that he never once failed in theory, tho' in practice, obstacles sometimes arose which were beyond his power to counteract. The founding of Petersburg is one capital instance; for ever since he made it the seat of his marine, and the principal trading town of his dominions, it has been of more real service to the empire, than any other measure, he could possibly have adopted. What an extent of political imagination is displayed in his inland navigations! They have a greatness, unrivalled in any other part of the world. But the most capital project of the Czar's was that, wherein he planned a navigation to the Mediterranean. Next to Petersburg, the favourite of his empire, was Azoph, the reason of which was his design of establishing a trade from thence, thro' the Thracian Bosphorus to the Archipelago. This would not only have given him greater mercantile advantages than Petersburg,

but would have endangered the very being of the Turkish empire; by letting a naval power of the Russians into the very heart of Constantinople; and that Peter designed something more, than commerce, we may easily gather from his forming docks, yards, and naval magazines, at Azoph; and actually had ships of seventy guns upon the stocks, which sufficiently shewed, that he intended a naval war upon the Euxine sea against the Turks.

The Russian empire, though of such an amazing extent, is very well known to be badly peopled. The best writers inform us, that it contains seventeen millions of inhabitants, and one million in the conquered provinces; but from the best accounts I could get at Petersburg, I believe the number at present to be more considerable. Almost from the moment, that the present empress began to reign, she has increased the number of her subjects by many ways, principally by a general and very active encouragement of all arts, of agriculture, mining, manufactures and commerce, and this with such effect, that all of them are more flourishing at this time by many degrees, than they were twenty years ago. And another means, which she takes to increase her people, has been inviting foreigners; this

this she has done, in a still greater degree, than any of her predecessors; almost from her accession to the empire, she has brought continual bodies of Germans, Poles, and Greeks from Turkey, to settle in her dominions, and these not few in numbers; from the coasts of Germany, ship loads, but from Poland and Turkey, whole towns, villages and districts have left their habitations and settled in Russia; nor has it been only at certain times, but regular emigration, in consequence of her continued encouragement.

This encouragement, which the Empress has constantly granted, consists in several very important articles. All the expences of the journey, or voyage from their native country, are borne by her; she feeds and supports them by the way. Upon their arrival, at the territory, appointed them to cultivate, (which has always been part of the crown lands) every family has a cottage erected at her expence, to which they contribute labour; they then are furnished with implements, necessary for cultivation, and one year's provisions for the whole family. A further advantage is an exemption from all taxes, during five years. All which is a system of such admirable policy, and carried into execution with such unusual spirit, even while the finances of the empire have been

been much distressed by expensive wars, that I know not an instance in history, superior to it. There can be no doubt, but the advantages must be immense, not only in population, but also revenue; for these settlers, though they have an assignment of lands for ever, yet it is, after a certain number of years, under payment of an annual quit-rent, sufficient to produce a considerable revenue. The continued disorders in Poland, and the oppressions in Turkey, have caused many thousands of families, annually to leave their country, and make use of this bounty of the empress. By this time, the increase of people must be very great; some persons, whose information I believe is very good, assured me, that the number of souls, thus gained, since the accession of the present Czarina, is not less than six hundred thousand; I must own, the number appears almost incredible. We may, without supposing the total, so very great, easily see from hence, that she must have raised the revenue of the crown lands very much, and put them in a way of being yet more improved; for certainly, peopling them was the first rational step, that could be taken, and one which never could deceive her. I made enquiries concerning the situation of the emigrants, and whether all the promises, that had

had been made to them, had been executed; and I was assured, that they were most punctually; but that, in very many cases, much more was done for them, than promised, and every effort taken, to make them perfectly satisfied with their choice; a proof of which is the increased numbers, that have been coming from the beginning: the accounts sent back by the first settlers, being such, as induced others to take the same measures, and this effect has been regular ever since; so that the number of new comers is at present greater than ever, and promises to be so considerable, that in a few years, if the troubles in Poland continue, the increase of people here will be immense, and with them, certainly, that of the power, and wealth of the empire. Nor has any event of her reign discovered a greater understanding, than this regular favour shewn to population.

The revenues of the Russian empire are very great, considering the value of money; which in these sort of disquisitions, ought ever to be considered, though it rarely is so. The Empress is, in many articles, the sole merchant in her dominions. The whole trade, by land to China, is on her account: this is not indeed considerable, for a caravan rarely goes now. Rhubarb, pot-ashes, and spices, are branches, in which she, and nobody else, trades.

trades. Salt is an article, that brings her in an immense revenue. Very large quantities of the best hemp of the Ukrain are bought and sold on her account; much iron, the same; and even beer and brandy are her's. Besides these articles, she has customs, tolls, and a poll-tax of three shillings and six-pence a head. The crown-lands, which are prodigiously extensive, bring in a considerable revenue.

The following general account was shewn me at Petersburg of the Empress's revenue, reckoned in English money. It is handed about there, and thought to be not very far from the truth in any article.

Poll-tax	—	—	1,750,000
Crown-lands	—	—	672,000
Salt	—	—	542,000
Hemp and iron	—	—	370,000
China trade, Rhubarb, and Spices	—	—	48,000
Pot-ashes	—	—	60,000
Custans	—	—	179,000
Baths and licensed houses	—	—	68,000
Other duties &c. comprehending	—	—	} 400,000
all other taxes	—	—	
Total	—	—	£ 3,689,000

But the value of such a revenue will not appear

appear clearly to any reader, that does not consider the great difference of the value of money in this country, and others, that are full of commerce and wealth; upon the nearest computation I can make, these four millions are about as good, as ten in England. And if we suppose them ten, we shall then see the great importance of liberty, trade and manufactures, in raising a publick revenue; for eighteen or nineteen millions of people in Russia, yield no greater revenue, than a third of that number, yield in England. Wealth, therefore, depends no further on population, than the industry of that population extends. It is a flourishing agriculture, improving manufactures, and an extensive commerce, which yield a great publick revenue. Introducing industry among all classes of people, that were not industrious before, is therefore as essential an increase of inhabitants, as bringing in foreign emigrants: both these means have been employed by the present sovereign of Russia, for the aggregate of the industry of this empire is vastly more considerable, than when she came to the throne.

She has issued out several edicts for the encouragement of agriculture; and herein she has proceeded with her usual politicks; for she rightly considered, that the way to make this
most

most useful of all the arts, to flourish, is to set its professors at ease; she has accordingly given a much greater degree of liberty to the peasants, than ever they enjoyed before; for they were greater slaves, than even in Poland; but now, every nobleman (called yet Boyards in Russia) whose estate consists of a given number of families, is obliged to enfranchise one family every year, and they are directed by the Empress to select for this purpose the most industrious family they have: the peasant has a farm assigned him, and the Empress makes him a present of some implement of the greatest use; but he is, by the same edict, to pay after three years a rent to the nobleman, that is very considerable; the design of which is to convince the nobility of the advantage of letting their estates to the peasants, for a rent in money: and I was informed, that many of them had made a great progress in it, partly from conviction of its expediency, and partly from paying their court to the sovereign.

Besides this measure, there are great encouragements given both in freedom, and in exemption from taxes and services, to all those, who improve waste lands, by bringing them into culture. Such a system is highly necessary in an empire, that contains more land than Europe, but not more inhabitants, than Germany;

Germany; and where, immense tracks of as fine soil, as any in the world, are utterly waste. If the life of the present Empress is a long one, great things will be done in this walk of improvement, and many very extensive territories cultivated, which have hitherto laid waste. The foreigners, which she has settled, and continues to settle, and the encouragement which husbandry meets with, will have a great effect, in giving a new countenance to the agriculture of many provinces.

I made enquiries concerning the present state of Russian manufactures, and was informed, that they have never been able to make them, any thing considerable: They have at Petersburg some very large founderies, where all sorts of ammunition and military stores are made; and they make some very good cloth of hemp, but the quantity of this last is not considerable. There are many other fabricks, but not of consequence, nor any ways proportioned to the number of the people. They have many woollen manufactories, but they do not cloath even their own army. England has the greatest share in the commerce of supplying them; the import, at Petersburg of coarse and fine woollen cloths, is very considerable: what we do not send them, they have from the Dutch; but the French
send

send none. Nor is there hardly a manufactory in England, that does not send great quantities of its fabricks hither ; and, notwithstanding, so great an exportation, yet the importation of hemp, iron, &c. is so great, that a large balance is paid (as I before mentioned) to Russia. There are several instances of much encouragement being given to the national manufactures, but the effect has not been great, and I must own myself of opinion, that it never will be great ; for the Russians do not seem to take to any sort, but those, in which they are from their infancy conversant. They make excellent carpenters, ship-builders, smiths, and founders, but they will never make a figure, as weavers.

It also deserves enquiry, whether it would be highly political, to make any great efforts in complicated manufactures, which require very many hands, while there is so immense a territory to cultivate, and not of barren mountains, like Sweden, but of great extended plains of as rich land, as the best parts of England, or even Holland : consequently, with such materials to work upon, it is much to be questioned, if a given number of hands would not in raising hemp and flax, or making potashes, bring in a greater sum of money to the country, than if they were employed in manufactures.

manufactures. It appears to me very clearly, that they would. From the descriptions, which I have had of several immense provinces of this empire, I have no doubt, but a thousand pounds and ten people would, employed in attending cattle, yield a greater return in hides and tallow alone, than from any manufactures they could be employed in; for there are meadows (not bogs or marshes) covered with fine grass of an hundred square miles in a place, with no other inhabitants, than what are wild, and very few of them. In a country, where there is such plenty of excellent land, and through which, run so many navigable rivers, that would convey all its products to a ready market; and notwithstanding these advantages, there are large wastes, still on the very banks of those rivers; under such circumstances, I apprehend, that no attention to manufactures can yield a profit, equal to a proper cultivation: the wealth arising from it, would be far greater, the public revenue would be much more improved, and population increased in a much greater proportion. If I was sufficiently versed in the theory of stocking ground with instruments of tillage, and with cattle, &c. I should be able to make this appear by minute calculations; but I do

not apprehend, that there is any reason, in general, to doubt it.

While this is the case, whoever fills the throne of Russia, will most advance the interests of that empire, by promoting, by every possible means, the cultivation of so immense a territory; if there happens a succession for a long period of time, of such sovereigns, as at present fill that throne, this vast empire will be raised by these means to a pitch of grandeur, much exceeding, what it at present possesses: and from the conduct, which has been hitherto pursued by the present Empress, there is great reason to think, that she is sensible of the importance of directing her views principally to this end; they have hitherto been attended with such success, as to be a very strong proof, that the plan, upon which she has proceeded, is a just one; a different one might have been followed more in favour of manufactures, by planting the foreign emigrants thickly in the near neighbourhood of these places only, which have fabrics in them, with a view to the employment of many of them in these manufactures.

Relative to the commerce of Russia, it should be remembered, previously to any enquiry into its present state, that this immense empire is by no means situated advantageously for

for trade. The only ports that it possesses, from which any trade of consequence can be carried on, are in the Baltick, a sea, that is frozen almost half the year; and, at the same time, it is at the extremity of the empire; so that the commodities, which are exported through this sea, are obliged to be brought some thousand of miles, before they are put on board the ships. This is such a disadvantage, that it much affects the commerce of the empire, and is of a nature, that will not admit of any remedy. This circumstance considered, the commerce of Russia is very considerable, as to the export of its products and commodities, but the shipping of the empire is very trifling, compared with that to which she gives employment. All the trade, which the English carry on with Russia, is in their own bottoms; it is the same with the Dutch, and almost all other European nations; so that the Russian flag is scarcely known in the world, although Russian commodities are met with in so many places.

To remedy this evil by a general extension of commerce, and by procuring a navigation on a more favourable sea, the Czar, Peter the Great, formed the noble plan of raising a naval power on the Black sea, and establishing a commerce on it, with a communication thro'

the sea of Constantinople with the Mediterranean; one of the greatest designs, which could have entered the head of any sovereign of Russia, and which would give a very considerable share of the commerce of the world to that empire. It should be remembered, that the richest products, which Russia exports, are those of the most southernly provinces, particularly the Ukraine; which is universally allowed to be one of the finest countries in the world; the rivers, which flow thro' this territory, all take their course to the Black sea; so that it is only by an artificial navigation, and a long land carriage, that they are brought to Petersburg. It is well known, that they could be delivered at Constantinople for a much less price than at Petersburg; which, with the increase of trade, resulting from a navigation open all the year, and immediately into the center of Europe, would give the empire at one stroke, ten times the commerce, it can ever possess otherwise; and would, at the same time, give the Czarina such an advantage over the Turks, as to endanger the very existence of Constantinople, and with it, that of their empire. And if the plan, upon which that great monarch conducted his wars against the Turks, be considered, it will appear, that he never lost sight of this great object. Azoph
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was the town, which he acquired at a very great expence of men and money: he fortified it at a yet greater expence, and built a fleet of stout ships for that navigation, with docks, yards, and magazines of all sorts; but the unfortunate campaign of the Pruth put an end to his hopes, and gave back that conquest to the Turks. Had he been successful, he designed the conquest of the Crimea, which would at once have given him possession of a noble province, and the command of the Euxine. The same idea was steadily pursued in the war of 1735, which ended with the cession of Azoph to the Russians, a fortress, of all others, the most important for the prosecution of this design.

A very little reflection will give us an idea of some of the consequences, which would, in all probability, attend the execution of this plan. Without supposing an entire conquest of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Walachia, with the Tartar districts to the North of the sea, as some writers have done, let us only state the navigation, from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, being made free to both nations, and Azoph and the Crimea in the hands of the Russians. They would then have a free navigation from all parts of their empire, by

means of the Tanais and the Donets, down to Azoph; that port would then be the grand magazine of all the commodities of their empire, where their ships would load for distributing them through all the southern countries of Europe, and on the coast of Africa, at the same time, that Petersburg sent them to all the Northern ones. But this trade would give them a new export, which would prove, perhaps, of more consequence, than all the others put together; that of corn: the finest territories of Europe for husbandry are said to be the tracks on the North of the Black sea, including the province of the Ukraine; at present, these countries have no vent for such a product, and therefore raise no more, than for their own consumption; but, in case of such a Russian navigation, as I am now speaking of, this territory would lie much better for supplying the best corn markets in Europe, than those, which at present supply them. Barbary and Sicily, it is true, yield an uncertain supply; but it is well known, that Holland supplies most of the demands of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, when embargoes are laid in England; and the Dutch bring the corn, they thus trade in from Dantzick; let the reader therefore compare the navigation from Azoph, to all the coasts of the Mediterranean, with that from

from Dantzick, round three fourths of Europe. It is very evident, that the Russians would at once command the entire supply of all those countries; not only, with so important an article, as that of corn, but would, for the same reason, gain the exclusive trade of naval stores to them likewise; iron, hemp, canvass, timber, &c.

Relative to strength in war, the success of such a plan would only be too great; for one can hardly suppose, the Turks would submit to a Russian navigation, through the heart of Constantinople, without they were first reduced to the last extremity; and in such a state of weakness, their submitting to it, would, in case of a succeeding war, be but another word for the overthrow of their empire. It would depend on the naval force of the two empires on the Black sea; for whichever fleet, in case of a quarrel, was superior, they would nearly command the event of the war; if the Turks had the better, the Russians would be cut off from all the advantages proposed; and if victory declared for the latter, Constantinople, and all the provinces of the Ottoman empire, would be exposed to them in the most dangerous manner; and if the advantages of the Russians, in building and equipping fleets, with their territory behind them, so abounding with

all sorts of materials, be considered, it can hardly be doubted, but they would gain the most decisive superiority. Nor should I omit observing, that the mere possession of Azoph might be made a means of putting this plan in execution, and carrying any future war, if well directed, to the gates of Constantinople.

Let any one consider the present aspect of affairs in that quarter, and the motions of the Russian troops, and it will be evident, that this idea is now in being; and that, in all probability, before the present war sees a period, the Turks will find the arms of Russia, infinitely heavier, than in the last, and themselves attacked with a maritime force on the Black Sea, much too great for them to contend with. I have been told, that it is a fixed determination of the Czarina's, not to conclude this war, without gaining a powerful establishment on the Black sea, so that Azoph may be but one step, to connect with further and equally important acquisitions.

If we judge from the present state of the Russian army, we may look for great success; from the first foundation of it, the officers did not want experience; and the men may all be called veterans. It is the same army, that saw all the campaigns against the king of Prus-

Prussia, that were beat, without flying, at Zorndorf, and conquered at Gunnersdorf; and that have since been in continual action in Poland, and always victorious. It consists of two hundred and fifty thousand old soldiers, sixty thousand of which are horse, better mounted, and finer troops, than any, that were ever in the Russian army before; with a train of artillery as fine, as any in the world, and what is yet of more consequence, well supplied with officers and engineers, from all parts of Europe, attracted by every munificent encouragement. The Russians are very sensible, that the losses they sustained, and their want of success in general, against the king of Prussia, was owing to their artillery, being very badly served, and it has given them a great eagerness to remedy this fatal evil; and, at present, I believe, they have done it effectually; they will not any where be wanting in success on that account.

This empire has not any neighbours, to whom it is not much superior in force, and in the constitution of its army. Poland is at its mercy, and will continue so, till she is reduced to a province; an event, I should never be much surprized at. Prussia is not comparable in power to Russia; and could never make the stand against her arms again, that we saw

in the last war; because the Russian army is better, more numerous, and with an artillery, that yields to none in Europe; and, at the same time, with an advantage she never enjoyed before; Poland behind her, three fourths of it absolutely in her power, to winter in, instead of falling back to Russia, which was the case before. I dwell the more upon these particulars, because it appears very clearly to me, that the next general war will see these two powers again in opposition, and I conjecture with very different success.

The present state of the Russian navy promises also well to the empire; for it never saw so many hands, employed in it, since the time of Peter the Great to the present. New ships are every day launching at Petersburg, and all the old ones, repairing with great expedition; a stout squadron is fitting out, of such a force, that one would think, the Empress meant to awe the Baltic, while her army is employed against the Turks. She has many ship-carpenters on the Tanais, and will be extremely formidable on the Black sea. So that if ever Russia began a war with a good prospect of success, it is this against the Turks.

There are many English at Petersburg; besides several gentlemen in the British factory, with

with whom I became acquainted, on my first coming hither: there are so many, that I am convinced, we have more people in the Russian service by sea and land, as well as in many other departments, than is conjectured in England. They certainly meet with good encouragement, or they would not be tempted to leave their own country; and very politic it is of the Empress, to avail herself so strongly of the alliance, she has with us; for nothing can be of more importance to her, than getting as many of our officers by sea and land into her service, as possible; men, she has in abundance, and men, that will stand for ever to be shot at; but the deserts of Russia will not give her experienced officers, tho' her own wars have formed many, under the tuition of foreigners. Our engineers are of infinite consequence to her; and she has great numbers of ship-carpenters from Britain, as well as officers and common seamen. There never was a period, more favourable to such designs, than the conclusion of the late war, in which we had employed a greater number of forces, both by land and sea, than we could possibly keep up in peace; so that very many of them might be supposed willing enough to enter into the service of a power, in alliance with us;

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an opportunity invaluable to the Emptess, and of which, I am clear, she made good use.

... This cause, with the constant trade we carry on with Petersburg, fills that city with English, Scotch, and Irish; but they make no great figure; which is very easily, accounted for. From what I have seen of the Russians, the character, I had heard of them, appears very just; they are a strange people, that carry, in all the lower classes, the marks of civility, just emerging from barbarity. They are obedient, and very patient; but have a moroseness, that seems, as if it would never be tamed. The lowest among them live in constant severity, yet that does not seem to bow down their spirits or activity, as slavery does in all other countries: they make nothing of hardships, and will bear in continuance, what would destroy, in a short time, other people of less robust constitutions. The higher classes, however, show nothing of this. They appear, in some measure, like other people, which is the effect of luxury among them, that every where softens and humanizes the people among whom it comes. It may be thought odd by those, who have never been in Russia, that I should talk of luxury among the Muscovites; but there is no Court in Europe, in which (the situation and other circumstances of the country

try considered) there is more luxury; and particularly, in the article of dress, equipage, servants, and the table; which is including the most devouring branches of it. I have been three times at court, which is, what we commonly call, very splendid; the dresses of every body are more expensive, than I have any where seen: all in gold and silver and jewels, but scarcely any taste; they have in their dresses but one ambition, which is to be as rich, as possible, and to have a great change; but as to having an idea of taste, and real elegance, even the nobility seem not to know, what it is. They are ridiculously shewy, the climate considered, in their coaches and sledges, thinking, in every instance of this sort, that their rank can only be manifested by an enormous expence. In their tables also, they are in the same stile; profuse in every thing: this has a very bad effect; for their revenues, a part of which ought to be expended upon their estates in improvements, and finding employment for their neighbouring poor, are all squandered in the luxury of the capital, giving employment to Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Dutchmen, instead of their own countrymen. I know not, what motive the government can have had, for a long while, in encouraging this profusion, unless it be, to keep

keep all the nobles poor, and thereby the more dependent.

The government of Russia is the most absolute in Europe; there is not even the appearance of the least barrier, between the will of the sovereign and the people: all ranks are equally slaves to the Empress, not subjects; and their punishments shew the spirit of the legislature; the greatest nobility are liable to suffer the knout, that is, to be whipped to death; and other violent punishments are used, such as cutting out tongues, hanging up by the ribs, and many other efforts of barbarity, which shew the cruelty of despotism, without having any good effect. In the same spirit also, we have seen the revolutions of the government: scarcely, a sovereign dies a natural death, but is cut off; and, by a revolution in the government, a wife, a brother, or a sister, fixed in the throne; and all this performed by the regiments of guards, who, in fact, are pretorian cohorts, giving away the empire at their pleasure. This is ever a mark of a despotic government, which is always insecure, in proportion to its severity.

It is amazing, that politic princes, who are advanced to a throne by the favour of two or three regiments of guards, do not see in a clearer manner, that the same power, which
gives

gives, can take away; and, the moment they are firmly fixed in their power, do not extirpate the corps to whom they owe their advancement. Peter the Great saw the tendency of the Strelites and disbanded them, instituting three regiments of guards in their place; but these guards, from not being sent to distant campaigns, and being constantly around the person of the sovereign, are, in fact, the same in power and opportunity, as the Strelites. In a free government, or even in an absolute monarch, provided, there is a shew of some liberty, such, as is in the kingdoms of France, Spain, &c. we do not see the guards, daring to act in this manner; but in countries of pure despotism, like Russia, Turkey, Persia, &c. a prince, in order to be safe, should have no guards in particular, but all the regiments of his army, should be guards by turns; and when he is away from the capital, the garrison of every place, he is in, be his guard, for the time he is there. This method, tho' it might not insure them from all the evils, which attend despotism, yet it would give them a much greater degree of security, than they could possibly be in otherwise; which one would apprehend an object of the first importance.

The Roman history is full of instances of
emperors

emperors being deposed, and others set up, by the pretorian cohorts. Many are the Ottoman emperors, who have been strangled by the Janissaries; and the histories of other countries, under similar circumstances, abound with the like examples; which should make those monarchs, that owe their advancement to a few regiments, selected from the rest of the army, throw all their forces upon the same footing.

Petersburg is tolerably gay, besides the brilliancy, it derives from the court. There are a great many concerts, in which we find numerous performers of great merit, but all Germans; here are plays also exhibited, but irregularly, and not with agreeable circumstances; an opera was established, but it did not last long; but by the accounts I have had, the gala time is, when parties can be made on the ice: In winter, all the country is covered with snow, frozen so hard, that it is the common season for travelling; and then innumerable parties are made in sledges, which are drawn on the frozen snow over lakes, plains, rivers, bogs, &c. and must form a spectacle, really astonishing to those, who never beheld it: I am also told, that this way of travelling is so very commodious, expeditious, and agreeable, that a thousand miles are passed with
much

much greater ease, than an hundred at any other season. As I purpose seeing the southern provinces of the empire, I shall therefore be gone, before this entertainment is to be reaped; but, if I can make it tolerably convenient, will take a share in it, on my return for Poland; tho' I have no great idea of travelling on snow with any degree of information, or even much entertainment; for the soil, and the cultivation of it, and the state of the peasants, which afford me, not only instruction, but entertainment, are then rendered invisible; so that a journey, full of the greatest variety, must have then an entire sameness. This frozen snow is, however, of prodigious consequence to the trade of this country; for carriage upon it, is wonderfully cheap, and more expeditious, than can well be conceived, which is a matter of great advantage to a country, that has such roads as Russia.

The journey, from Petersburg to Pekin, is the longest, that is gone by land throughout the world; it is near a year and half going, and as much returning; but then it is a trading caravan, much encumbered with baggage and merchandize, and in a part of the route with water; for all the men and cattle, for many days, are passing sandy deserts, which are utterly void of water. Part of this im-

menſe route is performed on the ſnow, through a northerly part of Siberia, where there are no roads, which are paſſable, except on the ſnow. Of this vaſt journey, Mr. Bell, in his travels, has given a very good account. It is much owing to that gentleman, that the world knows any thing of Siberia, which is certainly one of the moſt extenſive countries in the world; and, to the ſurprize of the weſtern part of Europe, conſiſts of ſeveral provinces, all of them three or four times as big, as Great Britain, with a moſt fertile ſoil, and a mild climate in the ſouthern parts, capable of feeding a moſt numerous population; but inſtead of being peopled, in any proportion, to its ſize, it is, comparatively ſpeaking, a mere deſart. But I can never be perſuaded, that it is impoſſible for a ſovereign of Ruſſia, who ſets heartily about it with judgment, activity, and penetration, to people all his dominions; or, at leaſt, to put them in a way of doubling their numbers, in as ſhort a period, as ever our American colonies did; for this great work a time of profound peace would be neceſſary, and an emperor, that was of a truly philoſophic diſpoſition. Liberty muſt be diffuſed, all ſlavery of the lower ranks broken through, and every man allowed to become a farmer, that pleaſes.

I pur-

I purposed leaving Petersburg, the first week in September, being the furthest time, I was informed, that I could venture to set out upon a long journey, unless I staid till the frost and snow were set in. My design was to go to Moscow, and from thence to Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, a country, I was desirous of seeing. Upon making enquiries into the proper preparations for such a journey, I found, there were but two plans; one, to travel with a carravan to Moscow, and the other to go only with my own attendants, of which I should not have less than five, and all well armed: that it would not be adviseable to travel with my own horses, as I might procure a military order, to be supplied by the peasants, from post to post, at a small price; and, at the same time, the owner of the horses would attend, as a guide. In pursuance of this advice, I sold my little Swedish horses, though something against my will, and made up my guard with my own servant, my German postillion, and my Swede, who understood the Russian language; and to these I added, by the favour of General Worosoff (to whom I am otherwise much indebted) two foot soldiers from his own regiment. These five fellows were each of them armed with a broad sword, a pair of pistols and a carbine; and I

carried a pair of pistols and a short rifled barrel gun, which were my arms from Denmark through all Sweden, though I never had any necessity of using them. Thus equipped, I was assured, I might travel in perfect safety through all Russia.

CHAP. V.

Journey from Petersburg to Moscow—Description of the Country—Great Settlement of Poles—Moscow—Journey into The Ukraine—Account of that fine Province—Description of the Agriculture of it—Culture of Hemp, Tobacco, &c.

I LEFT Petersburg, the 6th of September, and, with much difficulty, got to Juamgorod, which is fifty miles, through a country which is alternately a marsh and woods. From thence to Novogorod took me three days, being the distance of one hundred miles. I laid, both nights, at Russian inns. I travelled in the character of a general officer in the King of England's service, which was of no slight use to me; for it is not easy to conceive the respect, which all the lower ranks of people pay to the military, of whatever nation, provided they make any figure; and the number

ber of my attendants, with their being so well armed, and the various languages we spoke, seemed to impress the people with a notion, that I was a person of very great consequence. The Russians have nothing in them that one can properly call civility, but I met with the most perfect obsequiousness and obedience; and having provided myself with good bread, I lived upon excellent fish, throughout the journey. About Novogorod, the country is part of it cultivated, but the inclosures are thin, and there do not seem to be any great exertions of industry in it, but the soil appears to be a fine, deep, rich loam.

September the 11th, I got to Midna, which is above forty miles. This line of country is beautiful, being in fine, but gentle inequalities, and only sprinkled with small woods, and well watered with rivers: there is much cultivated land; but the harvest was all got in. I saw some crops of turneps, such as are common in Sweden, and as fine, but the people seem to be very miserable. Many of the peasants have farms, but then they can only work them, when their landlords allow: three or four days in the week, they labour on the lands of their masters, finding sometimes cattle and implements, in consideration of being allowed the rest of their time on their

own farms ; yet for these, they pay a considerable rent in products, and are besides open to the supplying all military travellers with horses, for which they get a very spare allowance, and sometimes nothing at all. In a word, their state is so little better, than the common labourers, who work constantly for their lords, that I did not find it a matter of envy to the latter.

The 12th I reached Thedray, a little town, prettily situated near a river, the same country continuing for forty-four miles, and much of it tolerably well cultivated. I passed through several very extensive plains of meadow, that appeared very fine, but were not well stocked with cattle. The villages seem very well peopled.

The 14th I got to Twera, which is a considerable town on the river Wolga, the distance above eighty miles. The peasants have hitherto furnished me very well with horses ; yet their pay is not three farthings a mile, with something for the peasant. I have given to the value of four-pence English for a day's journey, with which they seem to be very well satisfied ; from whence I conjecture, that they usually have nothing. This line of country is pretty well peopled. I passed through several towns, and many villages,
with

with some cultivated country, that was cut into inclosures, and appeared to be kept in good order. Upon making enquiry, they informed me, that they cultivated barley, oats, and buck-wheat; and, from the best conjecture I can make, from the intelligence they gave me, in Russian weight and measure, to the amount of between two and three quarters English per acre. All the lands, that are in culture here, belong to the nobility, whose agents manage them with the peasants: but some which they pointed out at a distance, belonged to others, who, I found, were possessors of the land, but not nobles; in other words, gentlemen. It was with some difficulty, that I could get my two soldiers to behave with any decency to the peasants; they were always ready for giving them a blow, when gentle words would do to the full as well; but I curbed this licentiousness, which gave me a clear idea of the government of Russia, and, at the same time, convinced me, that all the Empress's fine schemes for encouraging agriculture must inevitably come to nothing. The peasant, who conducted me to Twera, told me, on the road, that such a track of land was his father's farm; that it belonged to him, not being hired of any landlord; and would, after his father's death, come to him.

I said, then he would have an opportunity of living much better, and being more comfortable than at present. He replied, no ; that if he got any thing, the Count Woronofkoy would take it, for there was a payment (which I took to be in the nature of a quit-rent) to him out of it. I observed several good tracks, that were arable ; he said, that his father's land was chiefly meadow, but he hired some ploughed ground of the Count ; and I found, that the rent of good arable land was two shillings an acre, that was in regular culture. But this is not a mark of great cheapness, the prices of all products being proportionate ; for good bread is, through this country, at about a farthing a pound, and mutton and beef something better than three farthings, but under a penny ; so that every thing else must of course be proportionate. And a farmer must cultivate a large track of ground to raise a small sum of money ; but the case is, that money is so valuable, that they raise no more products, than necessary for their common purposes and rent, and the small sum they bring, answers, where all things are proportioned. I found from this man's account, that a farmer, who lived upon his own estate, was at the mercy of the nearest nobleman, and, if he grew rich, would surely be

be fleeced by him. It is impossible to introduce improvements into such a country, without an entire new system.

As I advanced in my journey, I every where made enquiries after new settlements on the lands, belonging to the Empress; but heard nothing of them, till I got to Twera: there they told me, that in the forest of Volkoufskile, about an hundred miles to the south-west, was a very large new colony of Poles, settled at the expence of the Czarina. I immediately determined to go out of my way to view it, that I might have an opportunity to see, in what manner they were fixed, and what a reception they met with. I got there the 16th, passing through a country, the chief of which is waste, being either forest or meadow, but with few villages. I found the settlement of Poles, consisted of about six hundred families, and pleased me better, than any thing I had seen in Russia. Each family has a small, but not a bad house, built of wood, and covered with shingles; a house as good or better, than the generality of small farm-houses in England, where the mud walls would give foreigners an idea, that we were the poorest nation in Europe. Behind every house was an inclosure of about fifty English acres in one field. The fence was a ditch

ditch and parapet, with a row of young plants for a hedge, that seemed to be a kind of elm. Each inclosure came down to a rivulet, where cattle might water. Each family had two sheep, and a ram, to a certain number, a cow, and a couple of oxen to till the arable, with a cart and a plough ; all which were at the Empress's expence, and do not cost, what they would in England. This may be conceived, when I give the rates. Two oxen for ploughing and carting, come to but five pounds ; a cow to thirty shillings ; a sheep eighteen-pence ; a plough four shillings ; a cart nine shillings ; each house cost the Empress about four and twenty shillings ; and every family had an allowance of provision, the first year, from the neighbouring country, which cost her nothing ; so that the total expence, per family, was only eight pounds ten shillings, and many of the families consist of eight or nine persons. The farms were all under culture, and subdivided by the people themselves ; and I observed, that these inner fences were done exactly in the same manner, as the surrounding ones. Some had four fields, others five, and some six. The land, when they settled it, was waste forest, but not many trees on it, that yielded a wild and luxuriant grass : it is a red loam on clay. The
peasants

peasants cultivate wheat without exception, which they had been used to in Poland; each had one field of it; also a crop of barley, oats, or rice; with a piece of beans, and another of turneps. Their farms were in general in good order, and they seemed to be extremely diligent and industrious in their management. Some of them had vastly increased their cattle, keeping as many, as they pleased on the adjoining forest: some had more than twenty sheep, ten cows, and six oxen; but they had greatly increased their farms, which the Empress allows, provided the former portion is all in culture. They all seemed to be perfectly happy, being entirely free from all oppression by being on the lands of the crown; and there is no doubt, but they will in time yield a fine revenue, without any severity being employed.

Some of them had pieces of hemp, which thrives with them so well, that its culture increases among them daily. I enquired particularly into the value of an acre, and found, that it was worth upon the spot from fifty shillings to four pounds, which, I think, is very considerable, and shews, that these new colonies may prove a source of very great wealth and population.

It

It is extremely evident from this instance, that the way of bringing improvements to bear in Russia, is not by encouragements, given to the peasants, unless they could at once be set as free, as in other countries, which, I am convinced already, is an impossibility, from what I have seen on this journey ; because the nobility and other land-owners, to whom they are vassals, fleece and oppress them to such a degree, that they can never be secure of any property, unless their encouragement comes from their own lords. Even they, who are not vassals, but have possessions of their own, are trampled on by the soldiery. No improvement, by giving them a greater degree of liberty, can therefore have any effect, unless it comes from their lords ; as in this case of the Polish emigrants. The Empress, fixing them upon the crown-lands, they are vassals of the crown, and all the liberty, she chuses to give them, they will securely enjoy, without any one's daring to injure them in any respect ; and as the sovereign can never profitably cultivate an extensive domain for her own account, this is the only means of working improvements, and they cannot fail of proving most highly profitable.

And the nobility have it also in their power to make the same improvements upon their
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own estates, because, under their protection, the peasants would be secure. But as to all general improvements in husbandry, it is merely impossible, that they should be attended with the least effect. Every landlord has every thing in his power upon his own lands, provided, I mean, he be of rank and consequence; and they have the ability, by means of the slavery of their peasants, to work very great effects, if they pleased to undertake them. Laws or edicts therefore must be directed to them: the rewards, for a proper conduct should all be granted to them; the Empress should address herself to them, and let them find favour at court, in proportion to the cultivation of their estates: these are the only means of doing great things.

The crown lands are so amazingly extensive, that very great things might in this manner be done, and far more effectually, than by general laws, in a country, where the people are so habituated to slavery, that it would be a vain attempt to free them under all masters. These six hundred families had at once thirty thousand acres in culture, besides the increase, which, by many of them, was very considerable; all which will, in process of time, yield a great revenue to the crown, besides, the acquisition of strength, which

which the empire receives by the addition of population, and the amount of so much industry, as all these people create. After five years, this colony is to pay an annual rent, which in ten more will be increased, and after that, remain a freehold to the Poles, subject only to that rent. An idea of the field, which the Empress has for improvement, may be conjectured by one contiguous track of waste and forest, partly in the Ziranni province, which contains above thirty-seven millions of English acres, and belongs to the crown, besides tracks in Siberia and Tartary, ten times as large. It is therefore extremely evident, that the great object of Russian politicks should be the peopling and cultivating the crown lands; which, if managed with unremitted diligence, and without sparing expence, might be continually on the improvement, and in such swift manner, that the quantity of land, rendered profitable, might soon be immensely great.

This colony of Poles have a market in the middle of their settlement on the great road, where merchants resort to buy their spare products, hemp, &c. bringing all those sorts of commodities, which they want; and this trade occasions a circulation among them, which is highly advantageous. The report
of

of the indulgence and benefits, they have met with, has had great effect in Poland; so that they pointed out to me a track of land contiguous, where they soon expected two hundred families more. Having viewed several farms of the settlers, and made such enquiries as I thought necessary, I set out for Moscow without returning to Twera, the distance is one hundred and seventeen miles; and I arrived there the 20th, passing through a very finely variegated country, well watered and wooded, and spread in fine plains, with many villages scattered through them, and much appearance of cultivation: all this country is in the hands of three or four nobles, whose stewards direct the management of it.

This city is the greatest in the empire; it was once strongly fortified for this part of the world, but the security of the present times has made every thing unnecessary, except a wall: It is about sixteen miles in circumference, and contains about half a million of inhabitants; till lately, the Czars spent a part of the year here; but the palace, which is a very indifferent one, having been damaged by fire, they have not of late years been there; but notwithstanding this, Moscow is the residence of a vast number of the nobility, indeed, of three fourths of those, whose offices
or

or expectations do not oblige them to attend the court; in which instance, there is a greater appearance of liberty, than in most other countries; for in general, all the nobility of a kingdom flock to the seat of government.

Moscow is very irregularly built; but it is a beautiful city, from the windings of the river, and from many eminences which are covered with groves of fine tall trees, and from numerous gardens, and lawns, which, opening to the water, give it a most pleasing airy appearance. I expected to see nothing, but wooden houses, but was agreeably surprized at the sight of many very fine fabricks of brick and stone. It is beyond comparision a finer city than Petersburg. The number of churches and chapels, amounting, it is said, to eighteen hundred, make a great figure in the printed descriptions of this city; but from the appearance of them, I should suppose the fact false, and that out of great numbers, very few are worthy of note. I saw the great bell, which is the largest in the world, and indeed a most stupendous thing it is. They have many other bells in the city, which much exceed any thing, that is elsewhere to be met with; the Russians being remarkably fond of this ornament of their churches.

There

There is a very considerable manufacture at Moscow of various hemp fabricks; particularly, sail cloth and sheeting, which employs some thousands of looms, and many thousands of people; the hemp is, most of it, brought from the Ukraine: there are also great numbers of considerable merchants here, who carry on a very extensive commerce with all parts of the empire; for there is water carriage from hence to the Black and Caspian seas, and with but few interruptions to the Baltick also, which are circumstances, that make it the center of a very great commerce.

This city is much better situated for the metropolis of the empire than Petersburg: It is almost, in the center of the most cultivated parts of it; communicating, in the manner above-mentioned, with the three inland seas, not at a great distance from the most important province of the empire, the Ukraine; open to the southern territories on the Black sea, and by means of the rivers Wolga and the Don, commanding an inland navigation of prodigious extent. Its vicinity also to the countries, which must always be the seat of any wars with the Turks, the enemies, most to be attended to of all those with whom the Russians wage war; make it, upon the whole, infinitely a better situation for the seat of go-

vernment, than that of Petersburg, which is at the very extremity of the empire, and possessing few of these advantages. Founding that city, and making it the seat of foreign commerce and naval power, was an admirable exertion of genius! but the seat of government should always have been at Moscow.

The 23d I left that city, taking the road towards the Ukraine: I was fortunate in having very fine clear weather, and found the roads, every where, exceedingly good, no autumnal rains having yet fallen. I got that night to Molasky, the distance about sixty miles, nor did I find such a day's journey, too much for the horses; the country, all this way, is a level plain, very fertile, and much of it well cultivated, with many villages, and, in general, a well peopled territory: the peasants seemed tolerably easy, but scarcely any of them have any property. From Molasky, fifty six miles carried me the next day to Arcroisly, a small town, situated in a territory not so well peopled as the preceding; the villages thinner, and but little of the soil cultivated, being covered with much timber of great size and beauty. The 25th I reached Demetriowitz, at the distance of more than fifty miles, every step of which was across a forest, in which I saw not the least vestige of any habitation; the road was not difficult to find,
even

even if I had not had a guide; but it is not much frequented; the mercantile people making this part of the journey to the Ukraine by water: This immense track of wild country, is part open meadow and part covered with timber, which would in England be thought a glorious sight: the soil is all a fine sand, and, if I may judge from the spontaneous vegetation, a most fertile loam; so that nothing is wanting, but an industrious population: but without that, the whole territory is of little worth. I baited the horses in the middle of the forest, and refreshed myself and company, much admiring the uncommon extent of country, that was without the least appearance of being inhabited: I apprehended, that the country must have great resemblance of the boundless plains and woods of Louisiana.

The 26th, I rode forty miles through an uninhabited plain to Serensky; no timber in it, but all one level fertile meadow. I saw some herds of cattle feeding, as if wild, but the land was not a tenth part stocked; for the grass, if we turned out of the road, was up almost to the bellies of the horses; such meadow would, I apprehend, in any part of England, let readily for five and twenty shillings an acre, yet here of no value: such are the effects of population, liberty, and industry!

The same distance the 27th carried me to Brensky a pretty little town on the banks of a river, in the middle of a forest; a place, truly romantic. I felt myself rather fatigued with hard riding, since I left Petersburg, and therefore rested myself here, the 28th, lest a continuance of this great exercise should give me a fit of illness, for which Russia is the most unfit place in the world; for every man, out of Petersburg and Moscow, must be his own physician.

The 29th, I got to Staradoff, at the distance of fifty miles: full twenty of which, are through a rich and pleasant country, much of it very well cultivated; they were getting in part of their harvest: they cultivate all the grain and pulse, common in England; and from what I saw, I have little doubt, but their husbandry is extremely good. They generally manage their lands in the system of sowing first, hemp, then oats, then turneps, then wheat or rye, but much of the former is sown: after this husbandry of five years, which is sometimes varied to six or seven, two crops of hemp being taken, they leave the land fallow for three, four, or five years; by fallow, is not however meant, ploughing it all that time, but letting it run to grass and weeds: it is presently covered thickly; the second year, all the weeds disappear,

disappear, and they have a very fine meadow, without the trouble of sowing any hay seeds, which they keep, as the feeding ground of their farms for several years, as their cattle require; and whenever they plough it up again, they are sure to find a field, entirely fertilized and ready to yield abundant crops. I should have apprehended, that this management would have filled the land with the seeds of weeds, which, upon breaking it up, would have destroyed their crop; but an agent, that seemed to belong to some man of a large estate, answered me by saying, that the first crop, they sowed, being hemp, entirely cleaned the ground for all the successive ones; that in case the effect was not perfected, a second would infallibly do it; for I found, they had an idea here, that hemp is a great cleaner of the land, and that no weeds can live among it; which is, what I do not recollect, any writer of husbandry mentions, as being the practice of English farmers. It is one instance, among many others, I have met with, in which I regret, not making myself better acquainted with the husbandry of England, before I made enquiries into that of other countries. The quantity of hemp, sown in all this country is very considerable; indeed I was told, that this province, which joins a part of the Ukraine in some

places, is much like that country, only the soil not quite so fine. The land here is a rich loam, wet, and much inclinable to a clay. They reckon an acre of hemp, one year with another, to be worth three pounds; an acre of wheat yields three quarters, and as much of rye; four quarters of barley, and as much or more of oats. They have fine crops of beans, about five quarters upon an acre. They do not cultivate so many turneps as they should, but trust many of their cattle all winter long on the waste, where they find herbage enough, notwithstanding the snow, to keep them alive: but it would certainly be much better husbandry to keep them better, and collect their dung. They have large herds, which in summer are kept in fine order, by means of the exceeding good pasturage, which all the meadows yield in vast plenty. All this country belongs to different noblemen, and is cultivated by their stewards and agents, who seem to know their business very well; but the peasants seem to be very poor, having scarcely any signs of cultivation around their cottages, and yet they are fed by what they raise for themselves on certain days. I remark, that the peasants in this empire, are in general happy, in proportion to the neglect under which the country lies; in the midst of vast wastes and forests

rests they seem to be tolerably easy; but any tracks well cultivated, are done at their expence, and they appear very near on the same rank, as the blacks in our sugar colonies.

From Staradoff to Czernicheu, is seventy-five miles, which I rode in two days, arriving there the 1st of November. Part of this track is as well cultivated, as that on the other side of Staradoff, but much of it is covered with forest. I observed hemp in many of the fields, and some of it was not yet pulled, though the harvest is generally in. Czernicheu is a very well built town, finely situated on the banks of the river Desna, which is navigable for barges of fifty tons, is very well fortified, and inhabited by about fifteen thousand people; many of whom carry on a considerable trade with Kiovia, and, by the Nieper, with Poland. All the track of country, which lies upon the river Desna, is very rich, and well cultivated. Many of the inhabitants of Czernicheu are Cossack Tartars; but a traveller has no more reason to fear them, than the inhabitants of any other part of Russia; for the government, although milder in the Ukraine, and the neighbouring provinces, from having been conquered from Poland, is yet the same, and the police as strict

as in any other part of the empire. I made enquiries here concerning the danger of travelling through the Ukraine in this time of war; and they assured me, that whether it was war or peace, I should not see the least appearance of any danger; that I should find the Ukraine, tho' inhabited by Tartars, as well regulated a province, as any country in England. They said, there had been no incursions made into any of these provinces, as the theatre of the war was pushed on to the countries around the Black sea, and where they doubted not but it would continue.

November the 3d, I reached Kiovia, the capital of the Ukraine, and fourscore miles from Czernichou. The road leads on the banks of the Desna, through a beautiful country; great part of it being well-peopled and cultivated. It is inhabited by Tartarian descendants; but I found the present Caslocks, who have very little idea of husbandry, come far from the eastward, from countries, that reach to the river Don, at the distance of above a thousand miles from hence. The present race of the Ukraine are a civilized people, and the best husbandmen in the Russian empire.

Kiovia, one of the most considerable cities I have seen in Russia, is a place, well known in the

the history of that empire; for tho' it has been subject to many revolutions, which reduced it to a low state, compared with its former grandeur, yet it has now recovered all those ancient blows; it is well built of brick and stone; the streets are wide and strait, and well paved; it has a very noble cathedral, much of it lately rebuilt, and eleven other churches. It has forty thousand inhabitants; and is strongly fortified. The Nieper is here a noble river; and several larger rivers falling into it, after washing some of the richest provinces of Poland, enable this town to carry on a very considerable commerce. It is the grand magazine of all the commodities of the Ukraine, particularly hemp and flax, which, in this fine province, are raised in greater quantities, and of a better quality, than in any other part of Europe. The Ukraine is the richest province in the Russian empire. Part of it formerly was a province of Poland, and the rest an independant sovereignty, under a Tartar prince; but the whole is now a mere province of Russia, and much the richest acquisition, that crown has made. It is upon an average, two hundred and fifty miles long, east to west; and one hundred and forty broad, north to south.

November

November 5th, I left the capital of this province; and as I purposed making a circular detour of the western part, I went to Buda that day, which is about fifty miles; most of the country rich and very well cultivated; the soil is a black loam, and they raise in it the various sorts of grain and pulse, that are commonly met with in England. I passed through great tracks of stubble ground, from off which the wheat, barley, and oats were carried. And I observed numerous hemp grounds, though not so much of the country is under that crop, as corn; in some villages, where I made enquiries, they spoke nothing but the Polish language, and of a dialect, which my interpreter, the Russian, knew nothing of, though he had assured me, he understood Polish very well; but I met with other peasants, who spoke Russian, and they informed me, that their products of hemp arose in value sometimes to six pounds an acre, but three or four pounds were a common crop; of wheat, four quarters; barley, five, and oats and beans six, and sometimes more an acre; which appeared to me to be all very considerable quantities. Their grounds are most of them inclosed with ditches, to some of which are hedges, but not to all. They have fine meadow grounds, which they convert to hemp, in the manner I related above,

bove, but leave them under grass for ten or twelve years, before they break them up; and keep them in a tillage management, as long: upon some grounds, they have three crops of hemp running. Flax they also cultivate, but they do not reckon it so profitable as hemp. In the management of their cattle, they are very good farmers: they have large stocks, and they house them all, whenever the snow is above four inches deep upon the ground; they litter them down well with straw, and feed them with hay or turneps: cows are their principal stock; and they sell immense quantities of butter and cheese, though it is extremely remarkable, that, not many years ago, they knew not what butter was. The property of all this country is very much divided; here are very few great estates belonging to nobility: the old inhabitants of the country were very free, and had a great equality among them; and this, in possessions, as well as other circumstances; and fortunately, this continues, though in subjection to Russia; most of the peasants are little farmers, whose farms are their own, with ten times the liberty among them, that I any where else saw in Russia; the government are extremely cautious of oppressing or offending them, for they never will be in want of solicitations

solicitations from the Turks to join the Tatars in alliance with the Porte. They pay a considerable tribute, but raise it among themselves according to their own customs; and they also furnish the Russian armies with a great many very faithful troops. These points, with the immense value of the trade the Russians carry on by means of their products, hemp and flax in particular, render the province of the first importance. I passed, in this line of fifty miles, great numbers of villages and scattered farms.

Buda is a little town, or rather a large village, prettily situated, between two rivers in a country, perfectly pleasant. I turned off to the north-west, and got the 6th to Kordyne, a little town, fifty two miles from Buda: All this country is equal to the preceding day's journey; I never saw a track of land, that had more resemblance to the best parts of England. Nothing could be more fortunate, than the weather for my expedition; the rains usually come very heavy the middle of September, and soon after them, frosts and snow, but I have yet had a constant azure sky, with warm winds. If it holds five days more, I shall have passed this province, and I do not hear, that there is any thing worthy of notice between the Ukraine and Petersburg, therefore

fore the weather will not be so essential to the journey. I remarked, in the country I passed to day, several tobacco plantations; they resemble hopgrounds, when the hillocks are not poled; they reckon it as profitable, as hemp, which is owing, I believe, to the ready vent, they find, for all they cultivate; the Tartars upon the Black sea, and the Kalmucks buy large quantities; and they are not so nice in the separation of the sorts, as our planters in Virginia are obliged to be, though they sell their product for as good a price; but I do not think there grows the less hemp, on account of their tobacco; it seems to be cultivated, instead of sowing quite so much corn as in other parts; an acre of tobacco is worth five pounds in a good year. They have large houses, highly run up for drying it. They think, the land cannot be too rich either for hemp or tobacco, and accordingly plant them on fresh land.

The 7th, I reached Leszozyn, at the distance of six and thirty miles, the country continuing the same; much hemp and tobacco being planted through the whole: At a village, by the way, where I stopped to make enquiries, I found they preferred a red clay for their hemp, and planted all the black mould with tobacco. I observed many ploughs

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at work, some with six horses, of a little weak breed, but in general, each was drawn by four stout oxen. They were turning up wheat stubbles, and said, they ploughed them before winter, that the frosts and snow might improve the ground, which seems to be good management. I think, I never saw such deep ploughing, as these peasants give their ground: I measured nine inches perpendicular after a plough drawn by four oxen; what the depth is in England, I never noticed particularly, but believe it is not so much as this. Their ploughs are very well constructed; if I may judge by their entirely turning over the land, they are all of iron, having no wood about them; a sort I had never seen till I came into the Ukraine; nor have they any wheels which our ploughwrights in England, think so essential. I remarked here several very noble crops of cabbages, and in such vast quantities, that I concluded, they must feed their cattle with them, and was right in the conjecture: they used formerly, to cultivate only the Swedish turnep for this purpose, but cabbages (they are a red sort, and come to a monstrous size, 25 or 30lb. for instance) by degrees, have come into fashion among them, so as to be the crop, on which they entirely depend, with help of hay for the winter sustenance of their cattle. They
sow

sow the seed early in the spring, and plant them when of a proper size, into the fields in rows, and afterwards keep them as clean as they do their tobacco, by constant hoeing: an acre of them will winter four or five large oxen; they reckon the culture extremely profitable. They have also whole fields of potatoes, some for their own use, and some for sale, there being a great demand for them at Ockzacow, on the Black sea, whither they are sent by water; but I cannot help thinking they must have a sort unknown in England: I rode into a field where a crop was taking up, and great numbers were as large, as the body of a quart bottle; I never saw such before. They freely gave me a few of these large ones to take away for seed; they are planted by slices in the same manner, as ours: the peasants here think, that lands of moderate fertility do for them. Such a potatoe, I should apprehend, might, for feeding cattle, be made of very great advantage to the husbandry of England; they yield from twelve to fifteen hundred bushels per acre.

The 8th, I rode to Kwasowa, a large village, the distance about forty miles. This country is, in some places, a continued level plain; in others, it is variegated with gentle hills, which never rise into
moun-

mountains, but are cultivated to the tops. Hemp and tobacco are common crops thro' the whole, and also some flax, but not in equal quantities. All the country is divided into small estates, or rather farms, cultivated by the owners; though I am told, that in some parts of the province to the south, where I have not been, there are large estates belonging to the nobles, and that those parts are not near so well peopled or cultivated, as these parts; which is a strong proof, that much of the good husbandry met with in the Ukraine, is owing to the peasants, being owners of their lands, and vassalage, almost unknown in the province. It cannot be doubted, but the Empress may bring the crown lands of Russia, on all the frontier of Poland, into as flourishing a state, as any parts of this province, if she encourages foreign settlers with all the spirit, she has hitherto shewn, since it is in her power to give them all the advantages, which the inhabitants of the Ukraine enjoy. They have, it is true, a noble country, equal, I think, in soil, &c. to Flanders, and almost as well cultivated; but I have seen, in other provinces of this empire, immense waste tracts of land, not at all inferior in every thing, derived from nature; but enslaved peasants are utterly inconsistent with a flourishing husbandry.

The 9th I got to Norodiza, the distance forty miles: the soil, in this track, is inferior to what I have passed, but the people appear to be excellent husbandmen: they have some hemp, but little tobacco, only a plantation here and there. I passed thro' several villages which have been lately built by fugitive Poles, who had fixed themselves here on some small wastes, by leave of the government, but without any expence. The 10th I had a very hard day's journey to Belechoka, the distance more than sixty miles, and the road in some places marshy. Some parts of this track are well cultivated, but no hemp, flax, or tobacco are raised; there are also some wastes, but they will not be such long, for the Poles are planting themselves on them very fast. Here I passed out of the province of Ukraine.

It is this territory which raises nine tenths of the hemp and flax which we import at such a vast expence from Russia; it is therefore deserving of a little attention; for the best politicians, who have given most attention to the affairs of our American colonies, have all of them insisted very strenuously upon the possibility, and even ease of supplying ourselves totally from thence. What truth there is in this I know not; but it will be of use to consider this province of the Ukraine with

more attention than any writer has hitherto done, because, from knowing it perfectly, we may judge how far we can reason by analogy, when America is spoken of; and this is the more necessary, as the accounts which have hitherto been published of it are strangely contradictory; for, on one hand, they tell us truly that the Russian hemp comes from thence; but on the other, they give such a picture of the state of the country, that one would suppose it, possessed by herds of wandering Cossacks, which is utterly inconsistent with the idea of such a state of agriculture, as is necessary for making so great a proficiency in the culture of hemp and flax. All these accounts must have been copied one from another, and the first of them, at least, a century and half old. To be convinced of which let any person look into the account of the Ukraine, in that very judicious collection of voyages and travels, entitled *Harris's*, there he will meet with mention, indeed, of the great fertility of the country, but three-fourths of the particulars given are relative to its wandering Tartar inhabitants, and the words hemp or flax, never once used; and a description of the people given, that would be utterly inconsistent with such agriculture; and this is the case with all the books that I have

turned to; but the reason must be, the country's being so extremely out of the way of all travellers, that not a person, in a century goes to it, who takes notes of his observations with intention to lay them before the world: very few such go even to Peterburgh; now and then one crosses Russia towards Persia, but all keep a thousand or two of miles from the Ukraine; and hence it is, that the greatest changes happen in such remote parts of the world, without any thing of the matter being known. And our writers of geography, who are every day publishing, copy each other in so lavish a manner, that a fact in 1578 is handed down to us as the only information we can have in 1766; a circumstance, which reigns in all the books of general geography that I have seen. Let me here add, that I have, in travelling to gain information, visited those countries, about which it would be in vain to consult books; for, Holland and Flanders alone excepted, all the rest of the present journey is through countries, the former accounts of which are entirely false, not from errors in the authors, but from great changes that have happened in a long course of years. But to return.

It has been supposed, that hemp and flax, coming to us from so northern a place as Pe-

terzburg, would grow in the midst of perpetual frosts and snows; but though we import it from latitude 60, yet it all grows in the Ukraine, which lies between lat. 47 and 52, and is besides as fine, mild a climate, as any in Europe: this is the latitude of the south of France; and with these advantages the soil is superior to most I have seen, being, in general, a very rich, deep mould, between a loam and a dry clay, but without any of that tenacious stickiness, which is so disagreeable in moving through a clay country in England. I am clear in the importance of conveying a precise idea, when we speak of soils; but not having been used to practical husbandry so much, as I wish I had, I cannot properly make use of the necessary technical terms. To these advantages, which this province enjoys, I should certainly add, whether from accident or natural ingenuity, their good husbandry, which is much superior to any thing, that I have seen, since I left Flanders.

After giving these particulars, we may examine, upon a good foundation, the capability of our colonies, affording hemp and flax in equal quantities. Those gentlemen who have travelled through them, best know how well they answer to the above description: but if I may be permitted to speak on the authorities
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which many modern relations give us, the settlements on the sea-coasts of North-America will never yield hemp in any quantities; the climate is much too changeable and severe; sharp cutting frosts are met with in Carolina, in 30 degrees of latitude, and a burning sun, equal in heat to any part of the world: in New England, Nova Scotia, &c. where hemp has been attempted, it has always failed, from the severity of the climate, and the badness of the lands. But all accounts give a very contrary description of the countries on the Mississippi: from the descriptions which I have read of the track on that river, from lat. 33 to lat. 40, I should apprehend it to be, of all other places in America, the most adapted to this culture: for the soil is rich, black, and very deep; the climate much more regular and pleasant than on the sea-coast, which is all marshes and swamps, and the lands in immense plenty, and all fresh. Hemp certainly might be raised in those parts to great advantage, provided the descriptions of them, which we have had, are just; which I do not see any reason to doubt. But then the misfortune is, that these beautiful tracks of country are without inhabitants; and great numbers of people are necessary for an advantageous culture of hemp. Another circum-

stance to be considered is, the profit of such an application of the land: hemp would never be cultivated to any purpose in Carolina, or our southern colonies, if the climate was proper, because rice and indico, and I believe, even cotton, pay the planter, much superior profits; and if indico and cotton were introduced on the Mississippi, as, in all probability they would be, hemp would be neglected till those markets failed which took off the more beneficial articles. But, on the other hand, we ought not to regret this, for the national profit is proportionably greater: the more the planter's advantage, the more the national income is increased. Hemp, in fact, is not an article of culture, that is comparable to many others in profit, and will consequently never be cultivated, except in those countries where corn and pulse, and other less profitable articles, would occupy the land, if that did not; but when the soil and climate will do for richer commodities, it is idle to suppose, that poorer ones will be attended to.

If, therefore, it is an essential point to raise all the hemp in our colonies, which we bring from Russia, new plantations must be formed on the Mississippi, in a latitude, that will not do for the rich American staples; such for instance, as that of 37 to 40, or thereabouts.

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The country, so included, is one of the finest in the world for all common husbandry; so that the inhabitants, like those of the Ukraine, would very easily raise all the necessaries of life, at the same time, that their principal attention was given to hemp as their staple.

C H A P. VI.

Journey to Petersburg through the Frontiers of Poland—Observations on the State of several Provinces—Russian Acquisitions—Remarks on the War between the Russians and the Turks—Journey to Archangel, and through Lapland—Return to Petersburg—Livonia.

NOVEMBER the 11th, I left Belechoka, and rode to Rzeezyka, at the distance of forty-four miles through a country very different from the Ukraine; for it consists of little besides marshes, with but few inhabitants. It is to be noted, that most of this track is in Poland, and Rzeezyka is the capital of a province, once Polish, and which, all the maps I have, lay down as a part of Poland; but I am convinced, there have been strange changes wrought by force of Russian arms on the frontiers of that kingdom. The town is large, populous, and

strongly fortified; but as much Russian, as Moscow. Here are great numbers of Poles, it is true; but all the houses, which the war had emptied, are filled up carefully with Russian families; and there is a Russian garrison, Russian government, and, in a word, scarcely any thing Polish in it. By this extreme political conduct, that empire makes very great acquisitions on the side of Poland, without the world knowing any thing of the matter; which is the effect of the miserable government, or rather anarchy, under which they live; and which is the pretence for the Russian troops, swarming over the whole kingdom; so that three parts in four of it are a province of Russia, and probably, the whole will in a little time, which may be more advantageous to the kingdom; for no depotism of the East is so great a curse to a people, as the furious military anarchy, that reigns at present in Poland. I have received accounts from various people, since I have been in Russia, from which I should apprehend, that full half the inhabitants of that great country, have been cut off and starved within these ten years. Near half the kingdom is absolutely in the hands of the Russians, who receive pretty heavy taxes from it, and also recruits for their army against
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the Turks : vast numbers of people are, by this means, also transported into Russia ; for Polish noblemen, who declare against the Russian party, are driven entirely from their estates, and great numbers of their peasants removed immediately into Russia, with their cattle and all their effects ; so that the Empress may easily have increased her subjects in the degree, which I was told, at Petersburg. And it certainly must be allowed, that the cards she plays in this manner, ensure her a game uncommonly advantageous. The poor Poles, driven about, and reduced to the utmost misery by their own people, must be very ready to fix upon lands in Russia, and be vassals only to the Empress. If this scene of confusion therefore lasts much longer in Poland, that kingdom will be entirely depopulated, and the Russian provinces filled with people ; an event, silently taking place, and which will increase this formidable power more, than half a dozen victories over the Turks.

From Rzeezyka, I followed the course of the Nieper to Rohakzow, where I arrived the 12th ; the distance more than fifty miles. The country is an open level plain, of fine meadow. I saw numerous villages deserted ; and the fields, formerly arable, become pasture,

ture, but without cattle to graze them : all the inhabitants were moved into Russia. That town is the capital of a large province, the whole of which is in the hands of the Russians, who have three strong fortresses in it, well garrisoned. Rohakzow is a fine town, beautifully situated on the Nieper, on which its present masters carry on a considerable commerce. I much suspect, from the fortifications raised here by the Russians, whether the town or province will ever be more in the hands of the Poles. I was informed here, that much the greatest part of the province of Minski, one of the most considerable in Lithuania, is entirely quiet, and in the absolute power of the Russians; and where it will end, time can only know; but the present state of affairs in all this part of the world, looks on every side, only in favour of the Russians; and it is certainly a most strange infatuation, that the other powers of Europe should be mere standers-by, and look on to this great success of the Russians, without thinking it their interest to interfere. Austria and Prussia are armed, it is true; but the progress of this empire is of a kind, which admits not open declaration from any, but the Poles. I have heard it mentioned, as a mark of very sagacious politicks in the Turks, that the real
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reason of the present war with Russia is from a jealousy of the Muscovite power, being too much increased by the advantages taken of the troubles in Poland. The Porte thought there was danger of the Empress taking possession of the whole kingdom of Poland in her own name; and judged that the best way of preventing such a great accession to her power, was by the sword, cutting her out work elsewhere.

From Rohakzow, I reached Rychow, the 13th, the distance more than forty miles. All this country is very rich, and part of it very well cultivated, but it is in the hands of the Russians entirely; many of the peasants are of that nation, and every thing seen, is a proof, that this empire has much enlarged its bounds, without either a formal war, or even the authority of a treaty. This place is in the province of Mislau, a very fine and fertile country, an hundred miles long, and as many broad, and all in the hands of the Russians. The soil here is chiefly a reeddish loam; much of it is in culture, as was evident, from the large tracks of stubble I went through; but I saw no hemp, flax, or tobacco, those products being pretty much confined to the Ukraine. Rychow, with some neighbouring towns, belong to a Polish nobleman, driven away by
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the Russians, who have seized his whole estate and taken possession of it in a manner, that precludes the idea of his ever returning. From this place, I rode about forty miles to Kudzin, through the same province. All this line of country, I could see, had been in general under culture, but it was now entirely waste. I counted the remains of no less than seven villages, which were entirely deserted, all the inhabitants being fled to Russia. From Kudzin, the same distance brought me on the 15th, to Krula, another little town, with a Russian garrison. The country is partly cultivated, and partly deserted; but the remaining inhabitants will not be left here long; for I saw a Russian commandant, whose business was, the taking an account of the people of several adjacent villages that had petitioned for lands in Russia. These emigrations are not at all surprising: in time of peace, the Polish nobles treat all the peasants as slaves in the utmost extent of the word: when, therefore, a scene of trouble and confusion comes, they are sure to take the first opportunity to desert, that they may escape in future the renewal of their former misery; and the condition of the new settlers in Russia is so infinitely superior to that of the peasants in Poland, that nothing can exceed the eagerness

ness with which they all fly from the scene of their slavery the moment their masters are driven away. These are the effects of that tyranny, which all the Polish nobility exert upon their vassals; so that in case the Russians should restore these numerous provinces, the Poles will return to deserts, instead of well-peopled estates.

The 16th, I got to Obloka; the distance forty-six miles; still in the province of Mislau. All this track is a fine rich country, but very poorly peopled, many villages being deserted. I passed a very large seat, belonging to a Polish nobleman, in ruins. Whoever declares against the Russian party, are sure to have their estates laid waste, and many of their peasants carried off; and in the provinces which lie near to the frontiers of that empire, they are driven away, and every thing seized by the enemy. There are not many finer countries, than great part of this province, but it is in a desolate state. I have met with no parties of Poles, nor any appearance of war: the Empress has a quiet and effectual possession of much the greater part of Lithuania; and such parts are the only ones in the kingdom that enjoy any repose.

The 17th I reached Witepski, the capital town of a large province, also in the hands of the

the Russians. The country is very woody. In fifty miles, which were this day's journey, near thirty were through a continual forest; the rest is tolerably well cultivated, and peopled; it is in possession of some Poles, who secured themselves from the beginning by declaring for the Russian cause. They cultivate their own estates by means of their vassals, who have small cottages, with little plots of ground round them, in which they raise what is necessary for the subsistence of themselves and their families in three days of the week, which are allowed them, and the rest of the time they work for their lord, under the direction of overseers. One of these noblemen cultivates in this manner above six thousand acres of land; his estate contains about twenty thousand acres, but much of it is marsh and forest. This is a representation of all the estates in Poland in time of peace. The owners of them, however small, are all Polish gentlemen, and entirely equal; but the numerous distractions they have had from the beginning of their monarchy, have consolidated most of the small properties, so that at present the kingdom is generally divided into large estates. Every owner cultivates his land by means of the peasants on it, who belong to him as much as the trees which grow

grow on the soil; thus the Poles are the greatest farmers in the world, for some of their princes possess whole provinces, containing several hundred thousand acres of land; and all their revenue, which is very considerable, is raised by this cultivation. The principle value of estates is the vicinity to a navigable river; for without this advantage they have not a vent for the immense quantity of corn which they raise. The stubbles I saw upon the estate, just now mentioned, were of all the common sorts, and very extensive, wheat, barley, oats, pease, beans, buck-wheat. I saw a few turneps, but the quantity did not seem to be any thing proportioned to the extent of corn.

In the night of the 17th the weather changed, which had hitherto favoured me so remarkably; very heavy rains fell with fleet and snow, and continued so bad the next day, that I staid at Witepski that day and the two following ones, in expectation of a frost setting in; for they told me, I should find the roads much worse and more liable to be damaged than those I had passed. I staid till the 20th, a very sharp frost having set in for four and twenty hours. The 21st I reached Goreslaw, through fifty miles of forest; the 22d I got to Sitefski, the distance forty-three miles; the ground hard frozen and very good travelling,

velling, but the frost continues and the weather is sharp; this line of country, like the last, is forest. The 23d, I reached Willifluki, which is in the boundary of Russia; but going from one country to the other makes no perceptible difference in the people, manners, or language; which is a circumstance, that threatens the Poles not a little. I passed through another country of emigrants from that kingdom, who are seated on an estate of the Empress's, which came to her not long since by forfeiture; it contains about four and twenty thousand acres of land, and did not yield the late owner more than seven hundred pounds a year; but the Czarina will presently make it twice as many thousands, for there is the finest timber for masts on it that is to be found in all the country; and she is making a small stream, that leads to the Iwanna, navigable; the expence will be but little, and she will carry her timber then to Petersburg by water, which will prove a most important acquisition. The Polish settlement contains three hundred and forty farms, each a family; they had exactly the same terms, as those I gave an account of before. They are seated in a plain, thinly scattered with trees, which they have cleared away; the soil, I was informed, for I could
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not see it, is very deep and rich: they have each fifty acres divided by the Empress; and they have made many interior divisions. I was told that in Poland there are scarcely any inclosures, but the Empress takes care, that all the newly cultivated tracks in her dominions shall be inclosed, being informed, that they were the principal causes, which have so much advanced the husbandry of England; and it is remarkable, that the Poles fall very readily into it, and divide their fifty acres into several fields, as if they perfectly well understood the importance of the conduct. They cultivate wheat, rye, oats, pease, beans, and buckwheat; and have many crops of Swedish turneps for the winter support of their cattle: they get two quarters of wheat and rye from an acre, but sometimes less; three of oats; and four of beans: and they reckon, that an acre of turneps will winter two cows. The cutting a canal for the conveyance of the timber to Peterburg, will be of prodigious advantage to this colony; for their products will find the same way to a most advantageous market. All these people are perfectly happy and contented; they are not deceived; on the contrary, they find their situation to the full as good as they were made to expect; and

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they all speak of the Empress in the highest terms of admiration and gratitude.

This system of peopling her dominions is certainly the greatest exertion of politicks that she could possibly have shewn: other princes have been willing to increase the number of their subjects, by affording a refuge to emigrants in their dominions, but nothing else; whereas the Empress is at a considerable expence in planting them in her's; she spares no cost to make the number as great as possible; although, from the cheapness of the country, it is done, comparatively speaking, at a small expence, yet when such numbers, as she has thus received and settled, are taken into the account, the sum of money, annually expended in this truly noble way, will be found by no means small.

The 24th, I reached Opolzko, the distance above forty miles; part of the country is forest, and part of it a level plain, or extended meadow, which did not seem to be marshy. I passed several villages, which seemed well peopled; and much of the country is tolerably cultivated. Opolzko is a fortified town, and stands in the middle of a small forest, on a very pretty river; it is not large, but well built, considering it is in Russia, where scarcely any thing is ever used but timber,
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of which there is great plenty all over the empire. The 25th it snowed incessantly, and so hard, that I was forced to stop till the 27th, before I could proceed on my journey; that is, till the snow, which laid thick on the ground, was frozen; and then I was provided with sledges, which are a very easy, expeditious, and agreeable way of travelling; and pleased me so exceedingly, that I wished for a longer journey on the snow than I now had to travel; the cold was not so penetrating as I expected to find it.

From Opolzko to Petersburg is two hundred and seventy miles, which I travelled in four days with great ease. And here ends this route through the western provinces of this great empire, which are the finest and most populous in it; for tho' I have been informed, that Siberia, and other immense regions to the east, consist of as fertile a soil as any in the world, and some parts of them seated in as mild a climate, yet the near neighbourhood of the roving Tartars, in the southern and finest tracks, renders them almost continued desarts: Russia, it is true, has conquered many of them so completely, that they are not only tributary, but also entirely unable to exert themselves against the empire, nationally speaking; but with individuals the

case is different, and those provinces could not be settled without these Tartar neighbours being driven entirely away, or extirpated: so that the western provinces, which are near to trade, and to the seat of government, are those of much the greatest importance: through these I have travelled above two thousand miles, so that I am able to form a pretty accurate general idea of the country.

It appears, upon the whole, to be much better peopled than I expected to find it. It is true, there are many forests, in which you may travel a whole day without seeing any habitations; and in other parts of the empire to a much greater extent; but we are not to look in Russia for the population of the most western countries of Europe; if such was to be found, this empire, which is of a much greater extent than that of the Romans, would be as powerful also; but the common ideas of this country, being all a desert, are carried too far: It is very badly peopled, taking the whole together; but many of the provinces, through which I passed, are very populous: the towns are considerable, and the villages very thick; much of the territory in a good state of culture; and the appearance of it, in many parts, flourishing: to this may be added the great increase of people, constantly gaining, by
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the reception and encouragement given to foreigners to settle, who flock hither in whole troops: I shall not assert, that Russia is a populous, well cultivated country; all I say is, that there are more parts of it so, than I had reason to expect from the accounts I had received, and the books I had read: the latter indeed must necessarily be far from the present truth in most particulars, from the changes that are constantly making, and from the improvements of all kinds, which the present Empress so nobly patronizes: and I may venture to predict, that if she enjoys a long life, she will change the face of the whole dominion; all the western provinces will be fully peopled: wherever the soil is fit for cultivation, the crown lands will be brought to yield a very great revenue, and general improvement spread around.

Upon my arrival at Petersburg I hired my old lodgings, which had been empty since I left them: I was not determined what course to take, business wanted me much in England, for I had received letters from three tenants in Northamptonshire, complaining of my agent; and counter ones from my agent, complaining of my tenants; in which case, nothing is effectual but a landlord's presence; on the contrary, the season was so advanced, that it was impossible to go by sea; and journeys, in the

depth of winter, are to me extremely disagreeable, and the more so, since habit had made me attentive to the state of all the countries I passed through, and inquisitive in examining the agriculture of them, which is very badly performed in the midst of snows: this made me think of spending the winter at Petersburg, and taking my way home in the spring, either through Poland and Germany, or by the way of Turkey to the Adriatic, and so to Italy; but not relishing the idea of a winter, in latitude 60, I did not determine.

In this suspense I spent a fortnight, which time I passed very agreeably, by means of a more extended acquaintance than I had made before; and I was particularly happy in Mr. Mason's arrival at Petersburg, who had travelled quite across Poland from Vienna; he designed to take advantage of the snow, to travel through Siberia, a design I much dissuaded him from: however, he determined on resting himself a month at Petersburg; and my being so fortunate as to have much of this gentleman's company at my quarters, made the time and the season pass away very agreeably: we conversed together upon the mutual subject of our travels, which proved to me a fund of inexhaustible pleasure; for Mr. Mason, besides crossing Poland, had been all over Germany;

Germany; through part of Hungary; over Italy, France and Spain. He had been long upon this tour, and has contracted such a habit of moving about, that I believe he will not settle again, till he has travelled all the world over. Last winter he spent on the coast of Africa, and he has determined, for the sake of seeing the surprizing change, to pass this, in the ice and snows of the north. This, it must be confessed, is seeing and becoming acquainted with human nature in every form, and with all the customs of the world; and to a person, who has an inclination for such a way of life, which is strong in my friend Mr. Mason, it is pursuing the inclination effectually.

A person who lives genteely at Petersburg, especially if he be a foreigner, is sure to get easily into the best company in the court; I had not been six weeks settled in my winter habitation before I had more company than I cared for; but it was not difficult to select from among them some whose conversation was equally agreeable and instructive. And I never spent my time in a manner, that was more to my inclination, than in the company of Mr. Mason, M. de Reversholt, a general officer in the Russian service, a native of Saxony; the baron Minchewse, a Russian

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nobleman, and the Count de Selliern, a nobleman settled in Russia, but of Polish extraction. These men are perfectly well acquainted with the languages, courts, and armies of the principal nations in Europe. They have all travelled; are learned, polite, and of most liberal ideas. For two months we took it by turns to have a dinner and supper provided at our quarters, where all the rest assembled, and spent the best part of the day and evening: the circle was sometimes enlarged, by some of us bringing a friend, which was chiefly three noblemen settled at Petersburg, who introduced several Russian and other foreign officers, who had seen much service, and were polite and understanding persons. In this company I had the satisfaction of having much conversation upon several subjects of consequence, in which I was desirous of gaining further intelligence; particularly, concerning the state of the distant provinces of the empire, the views of the court upon the Black sea, and the present condition of the Turkish forces.

M. de Reversholt, who had been in the last campaign against the Ottomans, gave me the following particulars of the Turks, which I think may be agreeable to the reader:—He observed, “that if ever the Russian
empire

empire engaged in a war with a certainty of success, it is in the present ; for the Turkish army is perfectly enervated with peace ; ten quiet years doing more mischief to it in this respect, than forty to any other army in Europe : the Janissaries have the absolute command of the empire ; and their luxury and riot, in a time of peace, is such, being almost without discipline, that they reduce themselves to a level with the worst forces in the Turkish army. That, besides this evil, another of a yet worse tendency is, the equality of the Grand Seignor's revenue : money in Turkey is of the same cheapness as in all other countries of Europe, but the taxes of the empire continue always the same ; so that the Turkish monarch, although he has now the same revenue as his predecessors, still is beyond comparison a much poorer prince. Many authors have given strange accounts about the Turkish policy in squeezing the bashas, and by that means raising a regular revenue ; but he observed, that it is a great mistake to think this any equivalent for the decline in the value of money ; that now and then the Grand Seignor fleeces a basha, and gets a considerable sum, but in no respect to be named with any regular revenue ; that the forfeiture of estates in Christian countries might almost as well be
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set down for a revenue, as this of the Turks.. He remarked, that the effects, which were within the power of curious persons to become informed of, shewed, that the revenue of the Turkish empire was smaller than in former times: one strong instance was, the number of their troops being less, and this, by so considerable a number, as sixty thousand men. It is asserted, as a fact, that the Grand Seignor cannot bring into the field so many men, as the Ottoman armies consisted of forty years ago, by sixty thousand. Their artillery, while great improvements have been made through all the rest of Europe, has declined considerably; it does not consist of so many pieces as formerly, nor are the magazines of ammunition so well supplied. That in addition to this evil, the richest province of his empire, which is Egypt, is in a state of little less than rebellion; and the war with Russia bears so heavy on them, that they dare not call for a categorical declaration, almost knowing, that it would denounce nothing but war.

In opposition to this picture he enlarged upon the state of Russia, which, instead of being a declining, is really a rising power; that the Empress's army never was in so good order, nor so numerous as at present; that the

the troops were veterans, and not such as had, in a hot and luxurious climate, slept away their time in peace, but fresh from a vigorous service; men who scarcely knew what peace was. The success, continued he, which we have already had, shews, that there is a great difference in the principle of this war, from any former one between the two empires. It was the business of two or three campaigns to prepare for the war, and gain a situation from which the enemy might be attacked. Our armies fought to infinite disadvantage; they had an immense march across deserts to make, in order to get at the enemy; and, after a campaign, as long a march back to get at winter quarters: but now the scene has been changed; the northern shore of the Euxine is gained; conquests made in Moldavia, and other Turkish provinces; so that the war is pushed at once into the enemy's country, and winter quarters gained there, which is precisely the thing that was always wanting before; and therefore the possession of it at present can hardly fail of being attended with the most fortunate consequences. I think it would be no extravagance to predict the fall of the Turkish empire being not very far off."

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The Count de Minchewse was of a different opinion from M. de Reversholt in several conversations on this subject; and the arguments he used were to the following purport: —“ I cannot contradict, said that nobleman, the fact of our arms having a better prospect of success in this war, than in any former one; but there are two circumstances, which appear to me sufficiently strong to prevent any such brilliant success as my friend mentions. First, by beating the Turks, and carrying on two or three campaigns, their army will be daily improved, while no success can make ours better than when they began the war. In every war, which the Ottoman empire or the House of Austria have carried on against us, they have improved in the success of their arms from the continuance of the war; their raw, undisciplined troops become veterans, and order and courage introduced among them from experience. This circumstance makes a long and protracted war dangerous in itself, or at least more favourable to the enemy than it can be to us. The revenues also of the two empires, though there is much truth in what has been asserted, still will not bear a comparison relative to the conduct of a war. The Grand Seignor can certainly support great expences longer than
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the Empress; and what is of much greater consequence, his situation will ever make one ruble go as far as our five; for the Black sea keeps open a constant navigation for supporting their armies directly from their grand magazine, Constantinople; and which will always be of great service, though a Russian fleet was upon that sea; but if they were deprived of that advantage, yet there is no comparison between the ease of recruiting the Turkish armies with the best troops from their provinces immediately at their backs, and the immense distance which every thing from Russia has to go before it can arrive at our army; and this, I think, is almost sufficient to prevent any very important success. All these points can hardly fail of making a protracted war more fatal to us, by the greatness of the expence, than it can be to the Turks. As to making a very bold push to finish the war in two or three campaigns, by aiming speedily at Constantinople, there are too many dangers in the plan to think that any commander would hazard it. From the two great frontier fortresses, Ockzakow and Bender, there are near four hundred miles to Constantinople. The Danube, with its six mouths, and vast marshes, besides a great line of fortresses, all lie in the way; and after that,
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near three hundred miles of a very defensible country. Such a march must, in the nature of the proposition, leave all the provinces to the west of Moldavia and Wallachia behind; so that nothing would be easier than a Turkish army to be collected in those provinces, and to cut off the communication and retreat of the grand army: in such a situation, it would be almost impossible for it to escape ruin. The Turks would have nothing to do but to destroy the country, harass its march, and dispute every inch of land, and every post, still avoiding a general engagement: the least error in the Russian general would be destruction, and nothing but continued and signal victories could be crowned with success. In such a situation, I am not clear that the taking Constantinople would be decisive. But the war could never be carried on upon this plan; none is feasible but making absolutely sure of all the country as you advance; to leave nothing behind you unconquered, or unpossessed; but to advance slowly, campaign after campaign. If ever we are able to make any impression of consequence upon the empire of the Ottomans, it must certainly be in this method."

This discourse, I thought, carried with it great marks of knowledge, and a very attentive

tive eye to the chances of the present war with the Turks; and I must again repeat, what I observed upon another occasion, that whenever a person, who minutes the observations he has made in his travels, has the satisfaction of meeting with persons thus capable of yielding instruction, it may be as useful to take notes of their opinions as of his own; and accordingly I have seldom failed doing it. Upon revision, I am inclined to own, that such parts of my memorandums have greater value than I should have been able to have given them. I asked the baron, if he did not think that events of great importance might attend a victorious Russian fleet in the Euxine? He replied, I do not see that events, such as we have been speaking of, can ever arise from it, except in one case; and the possibility or probability of that must depend on circumstances, of which we are all ignorant till they are tried. In making a conquest of the Crim, or of the provinces to the north of the Danube, and to awe and curb the Tartars in the Turkish alliance; in all these cases, a victorious fleet would be of infinite importance, and give advantages to our arms, which no other circumstances could. But I do not apprehend it possible for any fleet to force its way through the Streights, and attack Constantinople

stantinople by water. But if the fleet on the Black sea was numerous enough to take on board the whole Russian army, with all its camp, baggage, artillery, provisions, &c. I know not, whether it would not be possible to land them within two or three days march of Constantinople; nay, in case the coast is favourable to disembarking, in one day's march. In this case, the expedition would not be in the absolute danger of miscarrying from a march of four hundred miles, with a certainty of the retreat being cut off, but the event thrown at once on that of a battle, in a situation where a victory, supported and maintained by such a fleet, would probably overthrow the empire; for there is a wide difference between gaining such a victory fresh from the ships, and so supported, and the same success without any support, and after the repeated and certain losses of a long and desperate march. But to such a scheme there would be many objections, though not so strong as to the other: the greatest would be the difficulty of procuring, manning, and supporting such a fleet, as would be necessary to make the conduct at all secure; and this is so great, that it would never be possible to effect, in consequence of events that fell out after a war began; for many years would be necessary

sary for the mere building such a fleet, and great treasures must be expended in it. It could never therefore be executed without the idea being conceived in a time of peace, and the fleet built in consequence, and ready for use, with skilful mariners and pilots ready at the breaking out of the war: which state of the case supposes the Empress to be in possession of all the north coast of that sea, and to have the free navigation of it; for without both, it would be impossible to think of the execution of such a plan. Thus you see, what long preparation must in any case be necessary to form a consistent plan for attacking Constantinople; and yet I am persuaded, that this is the only plan that can ever prove successful. First, there must be a war, and a successful one; for such must be that which gives possession of Little Tartary and the Crim to the Empress. After this war, no time should be lost in raising a naval force upon the Black sea, superior to any thing the Turks can fit out. Thirdly, that sea must be most minutely navigated, that every ship may have a pilot, who knows the rocks, banks, currents, &c. And lastly, a succeeding war must happen so successful, as to put us in possession of the provinces north of the Danube; for even by sea it might be

fatal to make the attempt, with a strong enemy left behind so near as Ockzakow, Bender, or any places in that country.—When all these previous steps were taken, and had proved successful, then I should suppose the attempt might be made, and with a probability of success. I do not speak of the practicability of landing on the south-west coast of the Euxine, because I have been often told, that it is all a very safe coast, and proper for landing on.”

The whole month of December, and the beginning of January 1770, we spent in our mutual visits at Petersburg; and I may say with great truth, and without paying the other members a compliment, that I never passed any time more agreeably: now and then Mr. Mason and myself appeared at court, which is necessary here; and the Empress learning that we were great travellers, entered more than once into conversation with us; and enquired into our opinions of several objects we had viewed. She is reserved in the manner of her speech, but has a noble open countenance, and a becoming greatness in her air and carriage. There is nothing lively or pleasing at court, the whole being but a dull, tho’ a fine scene. It is certain, that the great wisdom, which has hitherto appeared
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in all the actions and councils of the princess, flows from her own personal genius and abilities: I have not learned that she has any ministers, whose distinguished parts would give one any reason to suppose the success owing to them; besides, it is well known here, that the Empress is very determinate in her opinion. She asks and hears the advice of her council upon important affairs; but she generally follows her own opinion, which is evident from her acting directly contrary to the opinion of the whole, in two or three affairs of consequence; and in which the success that followed proved clearly, that her own judgment was better than that of all her ministers. She is remarkable for being exceeding quick in all her decisions; she never acts from long and repeated consideration, but determines almost instantaneously, and executes with equal celerity. Such a disposition is certainly fitter for the conduct of great affairs, than one in which more caution and a greater degree of prudence appeared; for nothing is so fatal in the government of an empire, as inconstancy and irresolution. He who considers long before he determines, must infallibly miss many opportunities, which, to more active minds, are seized the instant they appear.

The last week in January Mr. Mason informed me, that he had determined on an excursion into Siberia on the snow, and attempted to persuade me to accompany him; I did not like the scheme, as it must prove a long and tedious journey; and in my turn, I proposed an excursion wherever he pleased for a month, which would give us both an opportunity of seeing the nature of this travelling; we conversed often upon this subject before we could decide; as we presently determined to break the length of the winter by some excursion of this sort. I expatiated to him upon the dreariness of so long a journey upon the snow, and offered to accompany him to Isfahan in Persia; which was moving into a warm climate, instead of freezing on the snows of the north; besides, such a plan would shew us a country highly worthy of our attention, and introduce us into quite a new scene. He objected to taking such a journey in the depth of winter, asserting, and truly, that to have it agreeable it should be made in the spring. At last he came into the scheme of a short excursion; and that we might have the snow in perfection, he determined to point full north, and visit Archangel, and the coast of the White sea.

All

All this journey was more a scheme of amusement than observation; and as it was performed while the ground was covered several feet deep with frozen snow, it afforded very little matter that is worthy of registering in this journal. We crossed the lake of Ladoga upon the ice and snow to Oloucky, thence cross the lake Onega to Cargapol, and from thence through a great forest to Archangel. The distance is about three hundred miles, which took us only five days; we stopped for lodgings at the towns we passed; and the scenery of the country, which exhibited a world of snow in every phantastic form that can be imagined, was a source of perpetual amusement. The weather was very severe; but it is incredible how warm a compleat suit of fur, well surrounded with cloaks of the same, keeps one; I believe I could have slept all night upon the snow, and full in the keenest wind, without any other covering than my furs; but travelling in cold countries has made me hardy: Mr. Mason often complained, when I felt not the least inconvenience. The smooth and immense plain formed on the two lakes is an object amazingly striking; and the vast forests, rising out of the snow in some places, and in others covered with it, exhibited scenes infinitely magnificent.

nificent. I had many opportunities of seeing the winter life of the peasants, the inhabitants of lonely cottages in the midst of these unbounded snowy regions. They lay in a store for winter of salted meat indiscriminately, of whatever sort they have; also a quantity of rye, barley, pease, or meal; and they lay up likewise a considerable portion of dried fish, which they cure in the smoak of their cabbins: this winter stock, with the fowls and accidental beasts they kill in ranging the forests, supply them tolerably well. They cloath themselves very warm in the skins of ordinary sorts of beasts, that hardly deserve the name of furs: and the plenty of wood, every where to be found, makes firing so cheap an article to them, that their winter lives are, I imagine, much more comfortable than their summer ones; for their lords have not so much work for them to perform, so that more of their time is their own; the greatest regale that can be given them, is that of a dram; and we have often found, that they would, in any little contract, perform much more than they agree to, if a dram is added. This in so cold a country, and where the articles of luxury among the poor are so extremely limited, is not to be wondered at.

Archangel

Archangel is a small town, almost on the mouth of the Dwina, which river is very broad and deep, and forms an excellent harbour. It contains about five thousand inhabitants, but the number once was near thirty thousand, when it was the great staple of all the trade which the English and Dutch carried on with Russia, before Peter the Great founded Petersburg. It is worthy of observation, that from that port there was a considerable export of Russian commodities, particularly naval stores and furs, before that great commerce was in being, which has since arose at Petersburg. In those days, it was not an uncommon thing to see three or four hundred sail of ships at a time in this harbour, but now very few resort there: It is a poor place; the buildings containing nothing that is at all worthy of notice: They have a cathedral, and an archbishop of the Greek church; but every thing looks much on the decline.

To avoid returning to Petersburg by the same road we had come, Mr. Mason proposed our crossing the White sea on the ice, and taking a small compass through Lapland, and turning southwards, round that sea, down to the lake Ladoga, and so home to Petersburg: this plan I readily agreed to, and accordingly we executed it. From the promontory of

Catsnoze, across to Parfiga in Lapland, is about seven and thirty miles, which we passed in less than a day, though not without some danger. From thence we went to Pohina, then to Kola, almost on the north sea, and turning south to Keretta, passed out of Lapland from Kovoda into Carelia, having travelled near five hundred miles through Muscovite Lapland. I expected to find nine tenths of the country a desert, but it is not so; on the contrary, there are several little towns, and among those on the coast there is a small trade divided: a ship on a coasting voyage, now and then, comes in summer, to purchase furs with such commodities as are more in request among the Laplanders. There is very little cultivation among them; but they have large orchards, which furnish them with an ordinary sort of apple: what corn they sow is chiefly rye, and a little barley; and this is a new thing, for formerly they lived entirely upon hunting and fishing, which are at present their principal dependance: they dry both flesh and fish for winter provision, and seem not much to regard the severities of the climate. I do not enter into any particular description of them, or their manners, because I find, that the accounts which I have read are very just. The face of the country,
from

from what could be seen of it in this season, cannot be disagreeable; it consists of many open plains, gentle hills, and woods; some of which are open groves, having no underwood in them. This province pays the Empress but one tax, which is a certain tribute of furs; the amount of which is considerable. The rental of the estates, which are situated in it, is paid entirely in furs and skins, for which the peasants have liberty to cultivate whatever land they want, and also to hunt and fish on all the estates. In such a country it may be supposed, that large tracks of land yield but very small returns; I was assured afterwards by a gentleman at Petersburg, that he has a track of sixty miles long, by four and twenty broad in some places, and the income of it was not four hundred pounds a year neat at Petersburg.

Upon our return to that city we renewed our former society, in order to pass the rest of the winter in as agreeable a manner as possible; a purpose, which I found was fortunately answered, and made me often reflect with pleasure on my determining to winter here. But I believe much, in such cases, is to be attributed to one's determining beforehand to make the best of all those inconveniencies, which may be occasioned by difference of climate or season.

season. In the depth of winter the inhabitants of Russia keep chiefly within doors; the society of the fire-side is then the only refuge from the inclemency of the weather; this naturally begets a more sociable temper and a greater willingness to be pleased than if all common objects divided the attention, and occupied one's hopes and fears. Whether this is or is not a rational account of the matter, I have, however, often experienced the case; and tho' my acquaintance this winter at Petersburg wanted no circumstances to set them off, yet I think I enjoyed their conversation more, than if it had been in the midst of the mildness of the winter in Andalusia.

The count de Selkier informed us about the middle of March, that he should, very early in the spring, repair by the Empress's order to Azoph, to make the campaign which was meditated against the Turks in Georgia; and in which he expected a commission of importance. This turned our conversation for several days on the views of the court of Russia, in the war in that part of the world; and the Baron Minchewse asserted, that attacking the Turks in their provinces, between the Black sea and the Euxine, was one of the wisest measures, that could be adopted, and the best calculated of any to give a great diversion to their

their arms, to the ease of the war in the provinces on the north of the Danube. It is a territory of very great importance from its situation between the two seas, as well as from the fineness of the climate and the fertility of much of the soil. It is by means of these provinces that they hold so great a command of the Black sea, entirely surrounding it by their dominions and ports. By these provinces also the communication is kept up between their other dominions and the Tartars in subjection or alliance with them, after the Russian army cuts it off on the western coast. Such a diversion, if made by an army tolerably powerful, would have great effects; those eastern provinces are weak, drained of their troops, and the fortresses never in good order; if all the maritime ones were attacked one after another by an army in concert with a fleet, the war might in two campaigns be carried to the southern coast of that sea, which would alarm the Turks exceedingly, and occasion great drafts from their grand army.

Upon another occasion, when we were conversing upon the prospects of the present war, I related the journey I had made from the Ukraine along the frontiers of Poland to Peterburgh; and observed, that an immense
track

track of country was not only in the hands of the Russian troops, but the towns and villages partly peopled with Russians, while the old inhabitants were all flying into Russia: this, I remarked, had all the appearance of the Empress's designing to annex those countries to her dominions. The Count said, in reply, that there were several provinces in Lithuania, which the ancient Czars had long claimed; they were once independent; and after putting themselves first under the protection of Poland, then under that of Russia, and then going back to Poland again, disputes about the sovereignty had happened, which extended in some degree to the whole grand duchy of Lithuania: he therefore supposed the Empress might keep those provinces in her hands, if not retain them, at least for making a division with the republick, and ascertaining clearly the boundary, if ever a time of tranquillity should return. He said, that there was great reason to believe, so very political a princess would not mistake so much, as to form any considerable conquests from Poland, and that for two unanswerable reasons: first, because they are not worth her having, after the inhabitants are all swept away; by her encouragements she attracts the greater part, and fear sends away the rest: if, on a peace,

peace, the owners of those provinces are at the trouble to re-people them from other parts of Poland, they will only be at work for her, as in a future rupture the same game will be played over again, and the Empress gain every thing she wants, which is not territory, but people. The second reason is no less forcible; if she was to dismember any provinces of consequence from the kingdom of Poland, she would scarcely fail of bringing the united arms of Austria and Prussia on her; neither of which powers can ever see, with any degree of satisfaction, the increase of this empire's greatness, and would declare against it, the instant any appearance took place of making acquisitions from Poland, which to them would carry appearances of greater designs; and if Poland fell into the hands of any neighbour, the balance of power, in all this part of the world, is at once destroyed; and of all events, none can be more against the interests of Austria and Prussia, than to bring the Russian power nearer to them than it is at present. Peopling her wastes is the great object of the Czarina; Polish provinces would be of no value to her; if territory is her object it cannot be in Poland, but on the Euxine sea, where it would bring trade, and a command with it, of much more consequence

quence to her than half of Poland. The Russians you saw settling on the frontier provinces, must be merely such as are attracted by the armies with a view of supplying them at a time, when the deserted houses and farms of the Poles were ready to receive them; but they will all be glad to return, when the occasion of their going is removed. Those provinces are now under the civil as well as military administration of Russia, which must of consequence carry a great number of Russians there, whose residence can be no longer than the occasion continues. All will return upon a general pacification.

I should think, in good politics, the Count's opinion must be right; and that the Empress keeps possession of so many Polish provinces, in order to be better able to carry off all the inhabitants; which is certainly making the best use of them that can be to her. But, at the same time, she acquires all that strength which would be the consequence of seizing the provinces themselves; and therefore her rivals, who would declare against her for one, should, to be consistent, do the same for the other; for there certainly can be no doubt, but the increase of a million of subjects, fixed on the crown lands of this empire, would strengthen the monarch on the throne far more

more than the acquisition of a Polish province, containing a million, and yield four or five times the wealth.

The approach of the spring made Mr. Mason and myself think of leaving Petersburg. He determined to travel into Persia, and, if the country is tolerably settled, to go by land through the Mogul's empire to our settlements on the coast of Coromandel; an idea very worthy of a man, who, I believe, will never cease to travel till he ceases to live. But as I have no desire to pass away my life without the satisfaction of fixing, I shall bend my course homewards, with the pleasing idea of turning a country farmer in Northamptonshire; and putting in practice, on my own estate, some of the various cultures and methods which I have viewed in so many places.

The 3d of April, 1770, I left Petersburg, taking with me five attendants to conduct me safe through Poland; among whom were two soldiers, who could speak German and Polish: of the former language I have enough to understand common conversation. Such a retinue in England would cost a traveller four or five pounds a day; but I could travel in Russia or Poland for four and thirty shillings a day, all expences included, except extraordinary

dinary ones: when I stop at large towns, the landlords, though they are very reasonable, will yet swell the account higher than that. I arrived the 5th at Narva, which is one hundred miles, the country very badly inhabited, but much of it cultivated. The frost is beginning to go; so in ten days or a fortnight we may expect summer, which, in the northern climates, comes at once, without the intervention of spring. The snow melts apace, till it is quite gone; the roads will be bad; but I have, even in their present circumstances, travelled on worse.

Narva is prettily situated on the banks of a fine river, though not a deep one, as ships of any size cannot come up to the town: it is well built, and strongly fortified. Here is a considerable trade in hemp, flax, timber, potashes, and most of the commodities which are exported from Petersburg. Almost all the trade is in the hands of the English and Dutch; but the former are much the greatest purchasers: the trade, which the latter carry on here has long been on the decline. I left Narva the 6th, at noon, and taking the banks of the river, followed it two days, when I arrived at Salatski, which is above ninety miles from Narva, standing at the bottom of a very fine lake, above forty miles broad, and as much long.

long. All this country is pretty well cultivated. I saw many fields of rye beautifully green, though so lately covered with snow, and much of them now under it. The 8th I reached Plescow, on a lake of the same name some parts of which, from the wooded islands which are thick in it, are very beautiful. All this country is as well cultivated as any part of Russia. It produces a large quantity of flax; but they reckon the soil rather too light for hemp. They have two seasons for sowing both wheat and rye; October, and April and May; but they reckon that the former season yields the best produce. They grow much more corn than is necessary for their own consumption, which, with their flax, is exported by the port of Narva; water carriage giving them that opportunity at a very cheap rate. Wheat yields here two quarters, and sometimes more, upon an acre; rye not more than wheat: barley is not sown till the middle of May, but the heat of the sun brings an early harvest; it is not reckoned a very profitable grain here; they get from two quarters to two and an half per acre: oats yield three and an half. I had been informed, that in Livonia one method of cultivation was very extraordinary, which was that of flooding vales that would admit it, and keeping

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them as fish-ponds for three or four years, and then, letting the water off, they cultivate it for corn for five or six years; after which the water must be let on again to fertilize it afresh; but on enquiry I found it was not in this part of the country: but they use here almost as many wood ashes for manuring their lands as they do in Sweden, and say that no other manure has so great an effect.

The roads growing but indifferent, I did not reach Marienburg till the tenth; the distance better than fifty miles. The country is woody in parts, but much of it very well cultivated. I passed through large tracks of young wheat and rye, which looked extremely well; and the peasants were all busy in the fields with their ploughs, which they work, some with horses, and some with oxen. They were tilling their lands for barley and oats, and also flax; for the latter of which they appropriate their best soils, if not wet clays; but they prefer a fine light sandy loam for it. An acre of good flax is worth from three to five pounds; but they raise much that does not yield three. Marienburg is a small town, tolerably well built, and most romantically situated on a promontory of land which projects into a large lake; so that it is joined to the main land only by a narrow neck, not
much

much wider than the road. An inland place in a country not full of manufactures, can scarcely be of any great importance. Marienburg was once of consequence for its strength, and the scene of several military expeditions, when belonging to the Teutonic knights. It is at present poor, but strong for this part of the world. The people live cheaply, from the fertility of the neighbouring country, and the vast quantity of fish which they get out of the lake. The farmers manure their land around the lake with a kind of ouze, which they dig up on the banks of it: it is of a deep blue colour, about two feet deep, cuts like wet peat, and is composed of rotten vegetables; for there is an immense growth of weeds every year in the lake, which drive ashore and rot, and, with a mixture of mud, forms this manure, which is of the nature of marle, and fertilizes their fields for many years. I have no doubt but the same materials might be found on the coasts of many other lakes; but custom not having made the use of them common, the husbandmen neglect them.

The 11th I got to Pebalgen, another town built on a lake; the distance about forty miles, through a territory, part good, and part of it marshy; but all the lands that would admit

of culture seemed to be under cultivation, and yielded wheat, rye, barley, oats, and pulse. They also cultivate cabbages for the winter food of their herds, which are very numerous. It is a large red cabbage, which stands the utmost severity of the winter, and is taken from under the snow in full perfection for all sorts of cattle, who are wonderfully fond of them. They used to sow the Swedish turnep for this use, but come more into the cabbage, from finding the produce much greater. As to its standing the winter, from the observations I have made, I am inclined to believe the climates in which vegetables suffer most, are not those where great quantity of snow fall, but such as have severe frosts without any snow: the snow keeps them warm, and greatly protects them from the keen frosty winds, which in other countries cut off so many vegetables. There is not much flax in this line of country; but they cultivate a little hemp: however, they depend most upon common husbandry. It is remarkable that there is a great difference between Livonia, and the other parts of Russia which I have been in. The ancient provinces are generally divided into the estates of the nobility, who cultivate them by means of stewards and agents, the peasants being all slaves; but
in

in the Ukraine, the land belongs to little freeholders, if I may so call them, who cultivate their own property. Now in Livonia the case differs from both; for here estates are of all sizes, and lett out upon farming leases, as in England. There are many seats of country gentlemen, who all have a part of their estates in their own hands; but the peasants, though not so much at their ease as in free countries, yet are not enslaved; they hire large tracks of land, which some of them cultivate extremely well; and many of them are worth considerable sums of money for this part of the world.

The 12th I rode near fifty miles to Cropper, through a country most beautifully watered with small lakes and rivers; it is diversified with gentle hills and groves of fine trees, and great part of it well cultivated; many parts of England have a much worse appearance. The peasants, from the general activity seen among them, are I believe a very industrious set of people; scarcely any arable field but what had ploughs at work in it; the soil is sandy, for loams and clays require some time to dry after the snow is gone, before they will admit the cattle to till it; but these lands inclinable to sand are presently dry enough for tillage; they plough variously for their

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spring

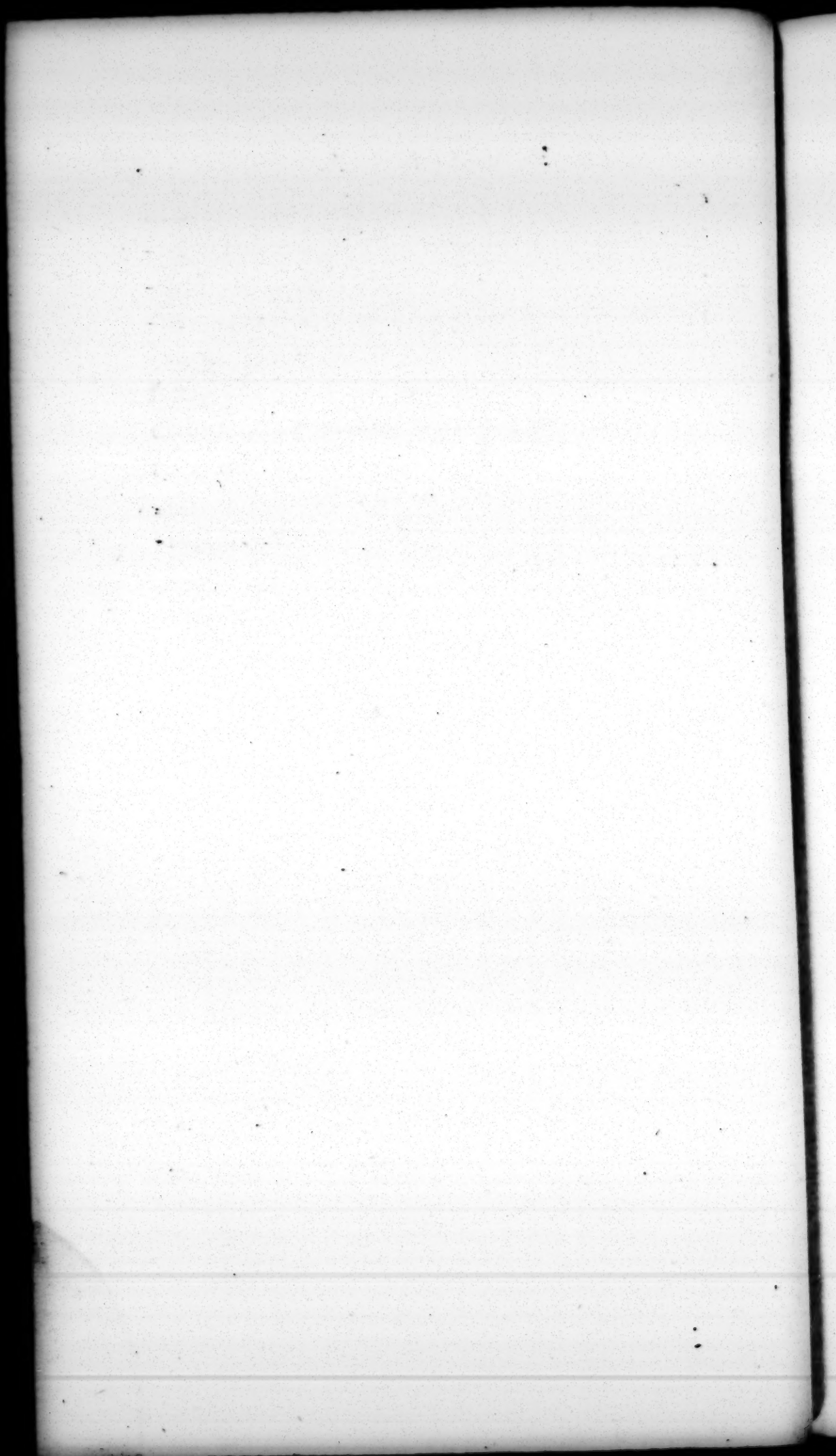
spring corn, some only once, others three times. Flax is cultivated by many of them; but they assured me that wheat paid them better, though some farmers have now and then such good flax crops as induce them to continue the culture. I remarked that most of them are very attentive thro' the winter season in raising dunghills, or rather compost heaps near their houses; for there was scarcely a farm without a great square heap piled up to a considerable height; they are composed of the dung of their cattle, which they winter in houses, and litter them with rushes and other aquatic weeds, which they cut up for that purpose in their numerous lakes and rivers; they also add great quantities of mud, also wood ashes, &c. and at this time of the year they mix these hills together, turning them over, and incorporating the ingredients; after which they leave them till they sow barley or plant cabbages, spreading them on the land before the last ploughing. This must all be a very excellent system of husbandry.

The 13th in the afternoon I reached Riga, which is the most considerable place of trade next to Petersburg in the Russian dominions. It stands very advantageously for commerce, near the mouth of the river Dwina, which with its branches, extending a great way into Poland

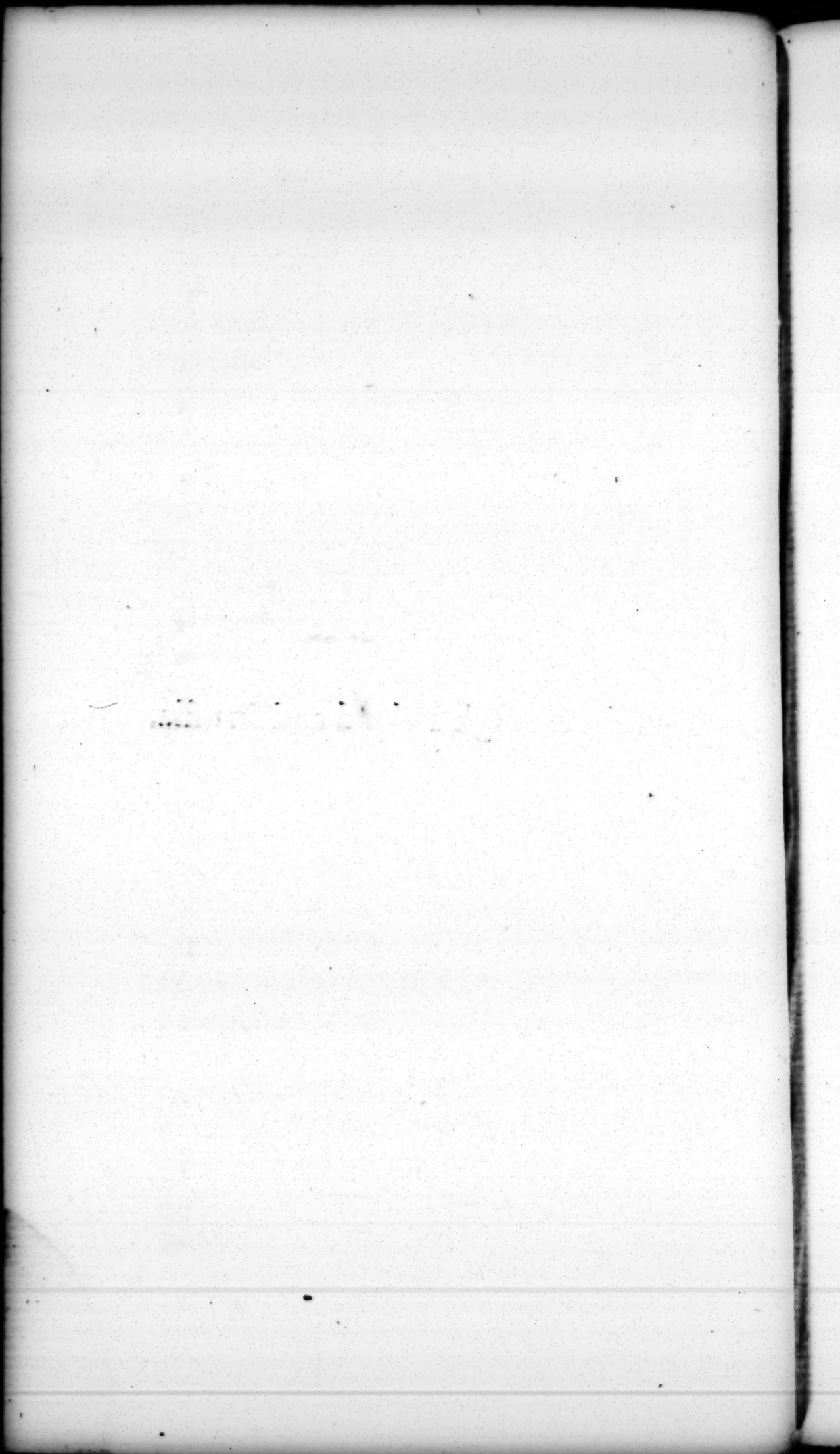
Poland and Ruffia, bring immense quantities of commodities which are exported from this city : Among these the principal are hemp, flax, timber for masts and other purposes; pitch, tar, and pot ashes; all these commodities are produced in the provinces or near them, through which those rivers run; and some of them by means of short land carriage from one river to another, much further, even from the Ukraine and the Polish provinces that border upon Turkey. It appears by the register of the custom-house at this town, that more than five hundred sail of ships, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred tons, have been loaded here in a year; three hundred of which were Dutch, and one hundred and sixty English; but of late the trade of the town has declined, for at present there are not many more than four hundred sail cleared outwards, of which about two hundred and forty are English. Every ton of the goods they carry from hence might be had at our own plantations; but for want of due encouragement we come to Ruffia for them, and pay some hundred thousand pounds balance on the account; which is an instance of mistaken politicks that never was to be equalled in the annals of the Dutch republick.

I had a letter of recommendation to Mr. Scueen, a principal merchant in this town, with whom I spent the evening; and he not only gave me the heads of the preceding particulars, but I had also some instructive conversation with him on the present state of the province of Livonia. Of all Peter the Great's conquests, this was the most important; being a country, which for its products, ports, and situation is of the highest importance to Russia. It forms upon an average a square of 200 miles every way, and contains better than twenty-five millions of acres, and near a million of people. Above half the lands, he calculates, are under profitable cultivation, either in arable crops or good meadow; and exclusive of woods, marshes, lakes and rivers. The annual product is about thirteen millions sterling, including timber. Such an estimate cannot be accurate, I do not give it the reader as a paper of authority; it is nothing more than the calculation of a very ingenious sensible man, who has many times travelled all over Livonia. The parts which I saw are not equal in culture to others in the province, yet I should apprehend, that half the track I came through is under culture, meadows included; and as to the number of acres, it is a geographical fact. But I should not conceive

ceive there were quite a million of people in it ; I heard the number once estimated at between six and seven hundred thousand. Supposing ten or twelve millions of acres cultivated, which does not appear to me an exaggerated idea, I do not see how the total product of the province can be estimated so low as thirteen millions. But from this sketch of particulars it is easy to conceive, that the importance of the province to Russia is very great.



Travels through Poland and Prussia.



C H A P. VII.

Journey to Dantzick—Description of the country and husbandry—Trade of Dantzick—Journey to Warsaw—Miserable state of Poland—To Breslaw.

THE 14th I left Livonia, and reached Mittaw, the capital of Courland, the distance about eight and forty miles. The face of the country is exactly the same as that of Livonia, and the soil equally fruitful, which by information I found was the case of the whole duchy: their products, as hemp, flax, lintseed, timber, masts, pot ash, skins, tar, honey, wax, &c. are considerable. The whole country is full of black cattle, and they have many horses. In the happy times of the Dukes of Courland, when the Ketler family had quiet possession, and before the duchy and all its town were ravaged by the Swedes and Muscovites, Mittaw was a considerable and a fine town; it reckoned fifteen thousand inhabitants, but now they are not more than nine thousand. It is yet an agreeable place, well built, with a handsome ducal palace, where is something of a court with
guards,

guards, and there is always a strong garrison in it. Of late years there have been great additions to the fortifications. It is now, as well as the whole duchy, in the hands of the Russians.

From Mittaw I reached Zagari in Poland on the 15th, being about four and forty miles; part of the country tolerably cultivated, but not equal to Livonia, or even to Courland; there were some Russian soldiers at Zagari to keep the town and the neighbouring country in order, which they do very effectually; and a great advantage it is to these parts of Poland, where the civil war is thus kept under by a foreign power. The advantages of all the cultivation I saw are in the hands of the Russians, for the Polish nobles through most of the great province of Samogitia are driven from their estates, and the profits of such of them as are not depopulated all go to the Russians. The cottages of the peasants are as mean as can well be conceived; they are chiefly built of turf, and covered with the same, being drawn up in a spiral form to a point, where is an aperture for the smoke to go out; the room is large enough for the family and the cattle; all lie together and in the same manner. I had read that they used in this province none but

but wooden plough-shares, through a ridiculous notion that the iron damaged their crops ; but this is not true, for I saw many ploughs at work for barley, and all of them had iron shares, but of a most awkward construction.

The 16th I got to Rosenne, the distance near sixty miles ; through a country that had hardly any appearance of present cultivation ; many villages I passed were deserted, several mansions in ruins, and fields entirely waste that had once been tilled ; the whole a very melancholy spectacle ; but much of the country was partly marsh and forest. The town of Rosenne is a small fortified place, which has a Russian garrison ; there is an appearance of nothing but poverty in it. The 17th I got to Swingy, a little town about thirty four miles from Rosenne ; there is some land in this line of country under cultivation, being the estate of a nobleman, who enjoys it in tolerable peace under the protection of Russia. They sow barley, oats, pease, beans, and a little rye ; I saw several ploughs at work ; and upon examining them, found that the shares were wood, to my no small surprize ; I enquired the reason of this, and they could give me none, only that they never used any other sort ; the land here is sandy, and did not seem

seem to yield good crops; the rye was full of weeds: I asked if it was to be weeded, and they told me they never weeded any corn at all. The nobleman is an old man, who has his estate managed in the same way as his father had; that is, the peasants are miserably oppressed by his stewards, and his own income at the same time contemptible.

The 18th I travelled forty miles to Stocken, all in Prussia, the country sandy, and not much of it well cultivated, but the peasants are much more at their ease than in Poland; and this country being subject to the king of Prussia, no Russians, no Polish confederacies, nor any disturbances happen in it, which is a very great advantage to agriculture; though I yet have seen nothing that gives me any great idea of their knowledge in that science. This country is much more populous than Samogitia, and the houses of the peasants built of much better materials. I passed two or three villages, entirely inhabited by Poles who have fled their country, and settled here by order of the king of Prussia, though without any of that noble encouragement I saw exerted in Russia; and I believe those who take refuge in the latter country, are in other respects better treated than they were in Prussia. The 19th I got by dinner to Koningsburg, the distance

stance, being only twenty miles through a country pretty well cultivated, and tolerably peopled, though the soil is in general sandy, and from its appearance I should not apprehend it very good. All the country people were now busy in preparing their land for spring-sown corn; they plough here with only two cattle in a plough; and I saw some drawn by a little horse and cow, or a little ox; this is very practicable with so light a soil: they sow large quantities of buck-wheat, and reckon it more profitable than barley. Koningsburg is the most considerable town which the King has in Prussia; it is tolerably well situated, and has a very good harbour with some trade, but not near equal to that of Riga, though it is a hanse town. The export is in the same articles, except hemp and flax, of which the quantity is too inconsiderable to mention. Upon the coast are found sometimes large quantities of yellow amber, which is to be bought at Koningsburg. The streets are broad, but irregular and not well paved; but there are many very good buildings in it, and they reckon above twenty thousand inhabitants. The King has made several attempts to increase its trade, but they do not seem to be attended with any great effect. Dantzick on one side, and Riga on the other, are two such

rivals, that this place cannot make its trade good against them for any thing further than the mere amount of the products of that track of country, which lies nearer to it than to any other.

The 20th I reached Landsperg, at about forty miles from Koningsburg : the country all sandy, and, that circumstance considered, pretty well inhabited. Buck-wheat is a great crop with them, I found. They do not sow it till the end of May: the produce is greater than that of any other grain or pulse, and the straw they reckon nearly equal to hay for cattle; an observation I had not any where heard of before. The peasants of this country, I find, are all much freer than in Poland, but they pay very heavy taxes to the King; yet they are not in such bad circumstances as the Polish peasants, because taxation is regular; whereas the payments made by the peasants to their lords in Poland are so capricious, that they never know when they have paid their total: most of it being in cattle, and irregular personal services; the best liberty that can be given to peasants, is to compound all such for money, which makes their burthens regular, however heavy they may be; and when this system is extended as far as it will go, it includes the tenures of land; so that all the
estates

estates are lett on lease, and the landlord's whole property pays him a regular interest in money : this is the highest advantage that can any where be made of the soil ; it will in this case always be best cultivated, and yield a greater total product than in any other system, at the same time that many more people are maintained than in any other way. It is not at all necessary that a country should be free, in order for this system to reign ; it is as general throughout France, and the arbitrary governments in Italy, as it is in England. The people, it is true, may be oppressed ; but then the oppression is different : in France, the proportion of taxes paid by the farmers and peasants is quite out of all proportion to the other classes of the people ; but then there is a regularity in their burthens, which renders them bearable. Taxes upon land, cattle, crops, or on whatever they may be laid, must in their nature have something of regularity and proportion in them ; but the personal service, in which the lower ranks of Poland are kept, is a mere slavery, such a despotism as the planters in the West-Indies use over their African slaves. Compared with this, the oppressed state of the Russian peasants is an absolute freedom ; besides

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which, there are many farmers who hire their lands by tenures.

The 21st carried me about forty miles to Elbing; the country all sandy, yet tolerably well cultivated. It is remarkable that buckwheat, upon these sands, very often yields as profitable a produce as wheat on the best soils: they get five or six quarters an acre off it, and the straw they reckon excellent food for their cattle in winter. Swedish turneps they also raise to advantage upon them; and tillage is so easy, from the lightness of the draught, that they plough their land, after the first time, with a single horse or cow: but this ploughing with cows is only while they are dry, they do not use them while they give milk. Elbing is, next to Dantzick, the most considerable town in Polish Prussia: it is a pretty, neat, and well-built place, with a trade that is sufficient to give a brisk circulation of money among the inhabitants: they load many ships in a year, sometimes above thirty sail, with corn, timber, potatoes, and hides. It is always striking, in every little town, to see the superiority that results from trade: a small commerce gives a circulation and a wealth, that diffuses happiness through every class of the people; the houses are better built, new ones are erected, and every
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body lives well. But in a country-town, supported by nothing but the agriculture around it, every thing is the contrary; the houses are poorly built, many are fallen into ruin, and all ranks of the people are poor and unhappy. Such are the consequences of bringing commerce into a country, which never fails of giving a new appearance to every object.

The 22d I arrived at the famous city of Dantzick; the distance about forty miles. I crossed several branches of the Vistula, part of the country being within the liberties of the city. This territory, though a poor sandy soil, is most highly cultivated, and shews, in every acre, the infinite advantages which result from liberty and wealth. The burghers have their villas in this territory; and all of them have farms, which they manage in a manner much superior to the husbandry that is to be seen any where else in Poland. I saw some very fine fields of wheat on this apparently barren sand, which, I dare say, the most fertile land in Poland does not exceed: this was owing to manure brought from Dantzick, such as dung of all sorts, ashes, the sweepings of the streets, the offals of the shops, &c. which being carried out of the city unto heaps, is sold into the country by the public

scavengers; most of it is bought by the Dantzickers for their farms; and they raise by this means as fine corn, &c. on their poor sand, as the richest soils yield that are not equally manured.

Dantzick is a very considerable city, well situated on the mouth of the Vistula, with a very advantageous harbour for all but the largest ships. It very much resembles Hamburg, both in the loftiness of the houses, the manner of building them, and in the narrowness of the streets. The streets and houses are much cleaner than any others in this part of the world; but neatness is not carried to the length it is in Holland. The principal streets are planted on each side in the Dutch way, which is an instance of ill taste in the original, which one cannot but be surprised at ever seeing copied. The city is not large, the circumference not exceeding three miles: it is fortified with a wall and a double ditch; but the strength alone that is its security, is the interest of all their neighbours that the place should continue free: in which circumstance it is in the same predicament as Hamburg. Two thousand regular troops, excellently provided and armed, would be a very weak garrison; but they have not seven hundred to spare, and those neither in discipline, arms,

arms, or magazines, comparable to the same number of men in any regular service in Europe. In a word, Dantzick has a strength to resist nobody but the Poles. They have an arsenal full of useless arms, and talk of possessing two or three hundred pieces of cannon; but a great train of artillery may be as insignificant, as these are of Dantzick, as a magazine of match locks.

But the commerce of this city is the object that is alone worth attention; it possessing, they reckon, sixteen out of twenty parts of all the trade of Poland. This is by means of the river Vistula, and its numerous branches, which spread through a vast extent of that kingdom, and are navigable almost wherever they go. The great article of export is corn, and particularly wheat; they send off some years to the amount of five, six, and seven hundred thousand pounds; and once the amount arose to one million two hundred and forty thousand pounds. Of late years the quantity is much declined, and, since the present troubles in Poland, has been very trifling; so that the total, last year, it was said, did not amount to one hundred thousand pounds. All the corn comes in sloops and flat-bottomed barges, that carry from thirty to sixty tons, and some more, and wholly on

account of the landlords, who are all nobles by virtue of their possessing lands. It is raised on their estates by their peasants, who, as I before observed, are all slaves; so that the Poles may be said to farm their whole estates, whatever be the extent: the barges are their own generally, and the watermen that navigate them are some of them their vassals, and others freemen, whom they hire in the cities and towns on the river. It is sold to merchants at Dantzick, who lodge it in their granaries, which are more capacious than those of any town in Europe, some of them eight stories high. The boats bring, besides corn, all the other articles of sale which the Polish estates produce, particularly pot-ash, masts, plank for ship-building, pipe staves, which are better than those of Hamburg, bees-wax in large quantities, some hemp and flax, and formerly much of it manufactured into sackings, packing cloths, and even linen; but this of late years is much declined: of all these articles, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds, but sometimes not near so much. The boats, on their return, carry back to the nobles, cities, and towns, all the commodities and manufactures which they want. Among these are reckoned, iron from Sweden, of which they once took two thousand

land tons a year, but the import is fallen to a thousand; East India goods of all sorts, manufactures of woollen and fine linens, silks, brandy, wines, &c. The Dutch have all the supply of India goods, and most of that of linen and woollen; and the French the principal part of the silks, brandy, wines, and all the West India commodities. As to England, her trade with Dantzick is very inconsiderable, which is entirely owing to our taking off very few of her commodities; we never pay money for what plank, potash, or hemp we import; and when wheat is so dear in England, that foreign corn is admitted, our merchants have sometimes sent many ships thither to load with wheat, and have paid for their cargoes with our manufactures, of which none are so acceptable in Poland as the hardware goods of Birmingham, Sheffield, Rotherham, &c.

Making use of a letter of recommendation, which I had brought from the Count Selliern, to Mr. Pratsky, a very eminent merchant at Dantzick, and one whose great wealth shews how well he understands the trade of the city, gave me an opportunity not only of getting the preceding particulars upon better authority than I could otherwise have done, but, at the same time, enabled me to make some enquiries concerning the present state of Poland, respecting

ing the factious views and designs of the several parties which at present harrafs that kingdom. I had for three years past read much concerning them in the public prints of many countries, but could never clearly understand the real state of the kingdom till I travelled from the Ukraine to Petersburg. The account he gave me was this :

“ Poland is divided into two grand parties, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants and Greeks. The former, for some ages past, have omitted (as has been the case in every country of Europe) no opportunities of oppressing the latter, and depriving them of that religious liberty to which they have a right by the constitution of the kingdom. These oppressions and invasions of privileges begot confederacies of nobles, professing the Reformed or Greek religions, who entered into compacts for the defence of their faith, and declaring a full refusal to acknowledge any sovereignty, until their complaints were redressed. This stroke was copied immediately in most parts of the kingdom where those religious are found. This gave rise to counter confederacies of the Roman Catholic nobles, with this addition, that they, in their agreement, declared all who did not accede to it to be enemies to the kingdom.

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A civil war immediately commenced: Russian troops, which had long been in the kingdom, were greatly increased, upon the Empress's declaring, in a general manifesto, her protection of the Greek and Reformed religion; and all parts of the kingdom were immediately in arms. In this war, the King, who disliked the whole of these proceedings, has been neuter; though it is very well known that the Russians are his friends, and that their power preserves him on the throne. The success of the war was at first various; but every where the effect of it was destroying and plundering each other's estates, and utterly ruining a considerable part of the kingdom. In the plunder taken on either side, the peasants are always the most valuable part: such as are not armed by their masters, but remain at home to cultivate the land, are, upon a skirmish or incursion which proves successful, carried off, and planted upon the victors' lands, where they are most severely treated, if they do not immediately conform to the religion of their new masters. Such a system of making war, which has now ravaged Poland three years with great violence, it may easily be supposed, is well enough calculated for reducing the whole kingdom to the condition of a desert. The Russians have in
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general been too hard for their enemies, and have cut in pieces a great number of their confederacies as fast as they are formed; upon which occasion the counter-reformed Poles enter and utterly destroy their estates, carrying off the peasants, and fixing them upon their own lands; and many are sent into Russia from almost every expedition, which, of all the rest, are those only who have any chance of being fixed out of the reach of constant revolutions. This is the present state of the kingdom: more than half of it has been laid waste since the war began; and what threatens the whole is, the number of Roman Catholic confederacies, which are formed as fast as the Russians destroy the old ones. Nothing can bring any degree of peace to the kingdom, but the Empress increasing her troops to such a number, as to make a conquest of all the Roman Catholic part of the kingdom: and this would give umbrage, it is thought, to other powers, although some of them have declared in favour of the Reformed Greek cause; that is, in favour of liberty of conscience. While the present war lasts between Russia and Turkey, the Empress cannot spare either troops or money for such a plan; but if a peace is concluded with the Porte, we

we may then look for more decisive measures."

Upon my asking him his sentiments of the Russian acquisitions, and their keeping possession of so many provinces, driving away the Polish nobility from their estates, and carrying most of the peasants into Russia; intimating that I thought the Empress had a fair chance of acquiring something important; he replied, "I do not apprehend that the Empress of Russia will think of seizing any Polish provinces, because that would make not only all moderate persons, and all well-wishers to their country among the Poles, her implacable enemies, but would deprive her of the strongest pretence she has of interfering, and thereby governing Poland: at the same time, it would bring her into a war with Prussia and Austria, for neither of those powers would see such Russian acquisitions, and sit by quietly. The aims of that Princess, which I have little doubt are those of a true politician, are to support the party of her own religion, and prevent their being oppressed, and to gain such a general power in the kingdom, as to have her will be treated, in all great national measures, with due respect. Her carrying away the Polish peasants to people her crown lands, is most certainly

certainly a very political conduct; for she will add thereby equally to her strength and wealth."

M. Pratsky insisted on my taking a dinner with him, which I did. He has a large and convenient house, well furnished, and much in the English manner. His wife is an agreeable, sensible woman, a native of Silesia, who talked politicks incessantly, and was a strenuous advocate for the King of Prussia. They had a beautiful young lady, their daughter, who entertained me on the harpsichord, Dantzick being pretty well supplied with musicians from Germany. M. Pratsky lives elegantly, but in the German manner, which is all the taste there: they sit long at their meals, and drink very heartily: and among all the nations that are fond of the pleasures of the table, there is always much society, and a desire of pleasing, which does instead of the more refined manners of the southern countries. Miss Pratsky, and other ladies I saw, aim in their dress, I observed, at an imitation of the French taste, but I cannot say I could ever admire any imitations, even in dress: whatever nation affects to follow the taste of another, will never make any other figure than that of an halting copyer, who shews as much awkwardness as fashion. The English
never

never make such fools of themselves, as when they copy the French in their dress; the two nations are of different genius, and different manners; we never come up to the extravagance of the original; our copy is always tame: go from London to Paris, you are in a new world; you find what was called French to be a miserable defective copy of a miserable original.

During my stay at Dantzick I was at the Golden Crown, a very good inn, lately fitted up and kept by a Dutchman; he charges very reasonably, and supplied me with good fish very fresh, and his wines are excellent, particularly old hock.

The 26th I left Dantzick and took the road for Warsaw, in the province of Ploscow. I was informed, there were several parties of confederates, and much skirmishing, I therefore took the advantage of travelling with a Dantzick burgomaster, going on public business to the King, with a company of soldiers for his guard. That day we travelled above forty miles to Kirchow, a small town through a sandy track of country, but with many villages in it. The next day we got to Culm, once a famous place and a hanse-town, but it has long been in decay, and is now, though a large place, filled with nothing but beggars
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and ruins. The situation is upon a hill, and would, if the town was well built, be very pleasant. From hence we passed the 28th through Thorn to Wladislaw; the former of these towns was a hanse, and a noted place for trade before that of Dantzick, but most of its commerce and inhabitants are gone; it has still, however, a good appearance, the streets are broad, strait, and some of them well paved, and the houses large and handsome: here is yet some trade by means of the Vistula, which is what keeps the place from the ruin into which so many others have fallen. The country we passed is not sandy, but seems to be a good loam, and the appearance of the corn indicates good husbandry, but many estates are quite desolate: we went through three villages that had been reduced to ashes more than a year ago, and no signs yet of being rebuilt. Wladislaw is a pretty well built town also on the Vistula; the only buildings in it that are of any note is the Cathedral, it being the see of a bishop, an old Gothic edifice; and the bishop's palace, which has been much damaged by a siege the town stood.

The 29th we went 30 miles to Plockskow, on the banks of the river, except where marshes prevent; the surrounding country is a very rich soil, and not having suffered from
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an enemy, shewed many signs of good cultivation: great champain tracks of open country are covered with wheat, which looked very well: the ploughs were busy in preparing for barley; no oats are cultivated here. The land seemed very well tilled by a couple of little horses and two oxen; but the ploughs are of a most awkward construction, and the peasants know not how to turn a straight furrow; they go as crooked as can well be imagined, which is disagreeable to look at, tho', I apprehend, not the worse for the corn. They sow a good deal of hemp and flax in this neighbourhood, which they are very well situated for sending, with their corn, to Dantzick. Wheat produces two quarters an acre; barley three, and pease two and an half. An acre of hemp, or of flax, is worth about fifty shillings. They have large herds of cattle, which they feed in summer upon the marshes on the Vistula; and in winter upon cabbages and turneps, which they always boil in the German manner before they give them to the cattle: this is not of much consequence where wood is so plentiful; but in England would do only in the neighbourhood of coal mines. But it is highly worthy of trial, to see how it would answer to follow this custom; because, if one acre boiled goes as far as three

or four raw, which I have heard it does, there are many situations in which it would be very adviseable. We passed near a nobleman's mansion, surrounded by a double moat full of water, and some cannon mounted on the battlements: my fellow-traveller told me, that this castle had been often besieged by the opposite party; but the nobleman driving all his peasants and cattle immediately in, had yet been successful in repelling them, which seems to be the only system of life in Poland for any person to have the least security; but of late he has had the fortune to escape any ravages, and is remarkable for the industry and attention with which he cultivates his estate, and takes a most fatherly care of all the peasants on it. This is a very rare instance in Poland; for they are generally used, as I have often observed, in a most oppressive manner; but the good effect of this contrary treatment is extremely visible in the case of this nobleman, who, with only a small estate, compared with many in the kingdom, has by means of a regular and consistent conduct towards his vassals, and by a constant attention to the culture of his land, been able to save much money; part of which he has laid out in fortifying his castle, which has more than once preserved his property and his peasants,

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and the rest is lodged in the bank of Dantzick.

The 30th we reached Zadrzin, which is a stage of more than forty miles, through a very fine rich country, part of which is fully cultivated. They sow very large quantities of wheat and barley, but no rye, or oats, pease or beans; they fallow their lands for wheat, and also lay all their dung in for it, and afterwards take two successive crops of barley; ploughing thrice for each. Wheat yields four quarters an acre, and barley three. They also sow some hemp and flax, and get as fine crops as any in Poland. The country is divided into four estates, and has escaped being plundered, which is owing, I suppose, to the vicinity of the capital, where there has generally been a pretty strong garrison. All this country on the Vistula, and between Dantzick and Warsaw, is the best situated of any in Poland; for the voyage to the former city is short, and there are many populous and considerable towns, particularly Warsaw, which take off large quantities of the products at a good market, which is an advantage of the most valuable kind.

From Zadrzin is only forty miles to Warsaw, the road running all the way within sight of the Vistula; in some places there are skirt-

ing marshes, but in others all through an arable country. This we travelled the 1st of May, arriving at that city in the afternoon. It is the seat of government, the capital of the kingdom, and the residence of the King; yet there is nothing striking in it. The streets are many of them crooked and ill paved, the buildings have little of elegance in them, tho' some of them are new ones; there are a few which make a tolerable shew: these are houses belonging to the Polish nobles, who make Warsaw their winter residence. The royal palace is a noble edifice, being, beyond comparison, the finest building in Poland. The apartments are very spacious, and some of them new fitted up and furnished in the English manner, being executed by the London artists, brought from thence at the king's expence. The room they call the Hall of Victory, from formerly having been a hall, is converted into a saloon hung with tapestry from Brussels; the ceiling, pannels, door-cases, and window frames all neatly executed in white carving, gilt: the rooms are very numerous, and all the offices for a court extremely convenient. And here let me observe, that notwithstanding the present troubles which distract the kingdom, yet there is a magnificence and a brilliancy displayed around the King of Poland, which suits

suits very ill with the state of his mind, than which, by all accounts, nothing can be more unhappy. His Majesty is certainly a man of quick parts, and has a truly patriotic concern for the miseries of his kingdom, which he is utterly unable to prevent: the state, in which he lives is the regular court, which the republick maintains for all its kings; and it is so much a piece of republican magnificence, that the King has not all the offices in it in his own power. The court days do not exhibit any great circle of Polish lords; the most considerable in the kingdom are not only in opposition to the crown, but even in open arms against it: but the officers who are obliged to attend the nobles of the King's party, foreign ministers, and Russian officers, all together fill the room pretty well. There is a Polish regiment of guards, of a thousand men, disciplined in the Prussian manner, raised by the present King, and he often reviews them; the officers as well as private men are Poles, but none of them nobles; they are collected from all the other classes, and depend absolutely on the will of the King: this is a measure which was brought about by degrees, and with great art; it has been of uncommon consequence to the King, for by means of this body of troops he has been able

to move into several parts of the kingdom, without the guard of a Russian army, which is a most unpopular, though a very necessary measure at present: it is not clearly known from what fund the King is able to pay this regiment, though his oeconomy and private fortune would, in better times, accomplish it; but the public revenue, in the midst of the present confusions, suffers extremely. If he is able to augment this corps by degrees, introducing none but men of low birth, mere soldiers of fortune, and absolutely dependent on him, it may in time be a means of giving him an authority, which no other measure will ever bring about; for Poland will never see times of tolerable order, till her kings have abundantly more power than at present, and nothing but force will ever give them that power.

The fortifications at Warsaw are sufficient to prevent the town being insulted by flying parties, or small armies, but could not stand a siege of any duration against an army well provided: it has two good walls, flanked by many bastions, and tolerably lined with artillery; the ditch is broad and deep, and the waters of the Vistula may be let into it at pleasure; but the extent of these fortifications is too great to be defended effectually with

with less than eight thousand men. Warsaw is populous; its being the capital of Poland always brought great numbers to settle in it; but the miserable state of most of the other towns in the kingdom has lately increased it very much, so that the number of its inhabitants are now computed to be above eighty thousand. There are at present in it many Polish families, once in affluence, but now reduced to live in a very mean way: I am told, that several cities in the Queen of Hungary's, and King of Prussia's dominions are also full of them; Dantzick and Königsburg, I know are. To what a shocking state is this fine country reduced! wholly by the furious zeal of Roman-catholick bishops, who would never be satisfied without the total destruction of the Protestants and Greeks.

Upon our journey from Dantzick we met with a small party that attacked us, and were more than once in sight of a band of robbers, who would have destroyed us, had we been less guarded. This determined me in the journey I proposed making to Breslaw, to wait till I could go in some company that would be a protection. Fortunately this offered in a week, by the Dutch resident returning home by the route of Breslaw: he had a party of Russian soldiers for his protection,

and I was informed that I should lay in plenty of provisions and wine for our journey, as we should pass through a country that was nine parts in ten destroyed. The 7th of May we set out, and reached Rava the 9th; the distance about threescore miles; the first five from Warsaw under cultivation, but all the rest ~~one~~ continued desert, and as pitiable a sight as could well be seen. This line of country was not long since well peopled, and as well cultivated as any in Poland; which I could see by the numerous ruins of villages, single cottages, and seats, some quite destroyed others tumbling down, and many in ashes: the country had most of it been arable, but the plough had no longer any business here; all the territory presented one face of desolation, the fields over-run with weeds, and becoming grass, without any cattle to feed on them. Rava was once a pretty town, and well peopled, but it is now a heap of ruins; out of ten thousand people that once lived here, there does not remain above seventeen houses inhabited, and those by some miserable creatures, too old to fly from the misfortunes of their town.

From Rava to Sirad is one hundred miles; in which track of country, though it evidently has all been cultivated, we saw but three villages

lages inhabited; all the rest burnt, and the people gone; the inhabitants of these yet venture to till a small quantity of land: we saw a little wheat, and several ploughs turning in barley; but who will reap it, the seedsmen little know. It is astonishing, that the country from Dantzick to Warsaw should escape so well, while this has suffered so severely. I there saw many devastations; but they are nothing, compared with the condition of these territories. Sirad was in arms both within and without the walls; we therefore made a detour to the left, and passed it. From thence to the boundary of Silesia is about forty miles; all which is one continued scene of ruin. This is a journey of near two hundred miles; and a more melancholy one can scarcely be travelled. Moderately speaking, I do not believe there are five thousand souls left in the whole country, Sirad excepted, the state of which town we were acquainted with: you may every where trace the plough; some fields wholly ploughed, others half, others just began, but all over-run with weeds and grass; some remains of corn on the ground that never was reaped; houses, barns, stables, and all buildings, either burnt down, or falling for want
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of repairs. Imagination cannot paint any scene more dreadful. Those landlords only are tolerably off who fled to Germany at the beginning of the troubles, and live in expectation of peace, when they may return to their estates; the property of them is left, and will, on a pacification, enable them to recover themselves: but others, who, in their defence, or to save their buildings from fire, bought off their enemies, met their fate at last, and cannot return without the load of debts; so that new buildings and settlements will be impracticable to them. I was assured, that there are some hundreds of estates in the kingdom at present, without any owners existing, so many whole families having been destroyed.

Travels through Germany.

THE END OF THE WORLD

C H A P. VIII.

Silesia—Breslaw—Journey to Berlin—The Country—Agriculture—Description of Berlin—Present State of the King of Prussia's Forces, Revenues, &c.—Saxony—Leipsick—Dresden—State of the Electorate.

NOTHING could be more striking, than the different appearance of Silesia from that of Poland. We entered it at the 13th, and found the country full of villages, half of which, at least, were peopled with Poles; the land all cultivated, and much of it extremely well; the houses and cottages in good repair, with all the appearances of ease and happiness; which formed such a contrast to the wretchedness we had so lately seen, that the view had the effect of making Silesia appear a paradise. Much of this must certainly be occasioned by the great increase of population, from such numbers of Poles, who fly to escape the miseries that every where desolate and lay waste their own country. The King of Prussia has officers appointed along all his frontiers, to see that all these poor people are received, and to provide cottages for them as fast as possible. In this
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work the King is at no expence; he only grants them permission to build cottages on any wastes or commons that are not absolute property; and his edict directs, that every neighbourhood should give all due assistance to the new settlers, and find them employment in husbandry or manufactures, after the rate of the country; and for the maintenance of such as do not find employment, he directs a tax to be laid on the district; but this cannot be lasting, as they have portions of land assigned them, sufficient for their maintenance when brought into culture. Upon the wastes belonging to the crown, these portions are considerable enough to form, when cultivated, small farms, that hereafter will yield the crown a good rent. I saw many of these poor people, and it is hardly credible how much they seemed to enjoy themselves, on escaping the miseries of Poland, and finding such an humane protection in the territories of the neighbouring princes. I am informed that the Empress Queen receives them in the same manner in Moravia, Austria, and Hungary; many of them are in Transilvania. All the King of Prussia's long line of frontier, from the bottom of Silesia to Livonia, is open to them; and great numbers take refuge in every part of it. I before gave an account of
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the multitudes to whom the Empress of Russia gave protection; if all this is considered, it must at once be apparent, that the kingdom of Poland must be amazingly depopulated, since it cannot be doubted but several millions of people, probably not less than three or four, are driven out of the country, or killed. Such a depopulation will take several ages to recover; and still this evil continues, without any appearance of its coming to an end; so that what the event will be, except leaving that country a mere desert, is very difficult to know.

We travelled thirty miles before we reached Breslaw. All this line of country is rich either in corn, meadow, or wood; the arable lands seemed very well cultivated; the wheat looked well, and the quantity of land occupied with it is considerable: they also cultivate rye: the barley was all coming up, and seemed to promise good crops; they do not sow any oats; but they cultivate many cabbages as winter food for their cattle, and they reckon them much better, and to last longer than turneps: potatoes they plant in large quantities for Breslaw, which city consumes a great deal of all the products of the earth; a vast advantage to all the neighbouring country: the small potatoes they fatten their hogs

hogs with. The river Oder is navigable there, which is another great benefit to the country, always keeping the markets brisk, which, of all other circumstances, is the most certain means of introducing good husbandry. The ease and happiness of the peasants in this country is the more surprizing, as their taxes are very heavy, and carry as much into the King's coffers almost, as into their own pockets. It can be attributed only to the regularity of his Prussian majesty's government; for that monarch looks so much into all his affairs, that there is no such thing in his dominions as irregular oppression: no minister, no officer, dares to lay the hand of power on the defenceless poor; the King is their protector, and they had better be heavily taxed by him, than pay less, but be open with it to those numerous and accidental oppressions common in all other arbitrary governments.

Breslaw is a very extensive and well built city: it is most advantageously situated on the Oder, upon the banks of which are some very fine streets; they are strait, well paved, and with many very well built houses. There are several squares in it, and many public buildings, worthy the attention of a traveller; among which are several churches, the Jesuits college, the town-house, the arsenal, the quay,

quay, &c. It is a bishop's see, but the cathedral has nothing remarkable in it: also the seat of an university, which has for some time been in a flourishing situation. It was pretty strongly fortified in the last war; has a good wall, a double ditch, several bastions and ravelins, and a strong citadel; but the works are so extensive, that they require an army to defend them. The King keeps a garrison here of ten thousand men; they are drawn up in the great square every day, and go thro' their exercises, being as well-disciplined regiments as any in the King's service. There certainly results from this strong garrison, and the others throughout Silesia, which are all proportionably numerous, great security, of which the last war was a very striking proof; for, undoubtedly, the king owed his preservation to the excellent order all his fortresses were in, and the numerous garrisons they were furnished with: had the Austrians met him unprepared, they would have at least wrested Silesia from him, and perhaps have made some impression upon his hereditary dominions. There are many churches and convents in the city; but I did not hear of any thing in them that was particularly worthy of attention. There is a great trade carried on here by means of

the Oder, and especially since the canal was cut between that and the Elbe, which communicates with Hamburg. The articles in which this commerce is particularly carried on, are linen and flax, corn, timber, plank, &c. all which are staple commodities in Silesia, and produced in very great plenty. Most of the staves which form so great an export at Hamburg come from this duchy; and the quantity of oak timber and plank, which is exported from it, is very considerable. Upon all these articles the King lays a duty on the exportation; which is a piece of wrong politics, and of so flagrant a nature, that would make one think his abilities were those of a warrior alone. The trade of Breslaw has declined a little since the troubles broke out in Poland; for in times of tranquility in that kingdom, this province exports large quantities of goods thither, particularly linens, of which the Poles buy more than any other nation; but since the commencement of the civil war, they have been too much impoverished to be able to purchase any quantity worth mentioning.

The manufacture of linen in Silesia is very considerable: it employs many thousands of people, enriches the whole duchy, and brings in a very considerable revenue to the King.

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Most of the linens which are bleached at Haerlem in Holland, and afterwards are so well known under the name of *Dutch*, are made in Silesia: formerly immense quantities were consumed in England; but since the great success which has attended the fabricks of Ireland and Scotland, this impolitic importation is come to nothing, and thereby vast sums saved to Great-Britain.——At this place I lessened my expences of travelling considerably, by paying off all my attendants, except my old Swiss, Martin, who has rode through the best part of Europe with me.

The 16th I left Breslaw, taking a post-chaise to Steinau, on the Oder: the distance thirty miles. This line of country is remarkably fine, fully cultivated, and in general well peopled. Landed property here is much divided: here and there is found an old baron's estate of great extent, around an old castle, with all the marks of antiquity and grandeur; but in general the lands belong to persons enriched by trade and manufactures, which has had one excellent effect, that of diffusing much more liberty among the peasants than they have in other parts. Upon these estates the lands are let in farms, as in England, and the peasants, not being vassals to tenants, are

hired in the manner of our day-labourers, which is the system of all others the most beneficial. A common rent, in their farms, is from seven to eleven shillings an acre : wheat yields two quarters an acre ; barley three ; buck-wheat four : the flax grounds are all inclosed by ditches, and they reckon an acre that yields three pounds a very good one. They keep all their cattle in winter in houses, and feed them with boiled cabbages and straw. They lay most of the manure they make upon their cabbage grounds, in the culture of which plant they seem to be very attentive. They make great use of mud from the Oder as a manure, and value it so much, that they go several miles for it. They plough their land with oxen ; the structure of their ploughs is remarkable ; they seem, from the height of the wheels, to be very well instructed in the doctrine of the lever.

The 17th I reached Grumberg, through forty-five miles of very indifferent road ; dining at Glogau, a pretty town, agreeably situated on the Oder, very strongly fortified, and always garrisoned with two thousand men. It was anciently the residence of the dukes of Glogau, and there are remains of their palace in the castle. The cathedral is a very ancient
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and a fine building. They have some linen fabricks, and a good trade on the Oder. The country around it, and quite to Grumberg, is various, consisting of woods, arable, meadow, some waste, and also some marsh land. The villages are not very thick, and the peasants do not seem to be so well off as those nearer to Breslaw; what the reason is, I could not discover.

My next day's journey was thirty miles, through Crossen to Frankfort on the Oder. Crossen is the capital of a territory of the same name: it is a very well-built town, having been rebuilt after a great fire, which happened at the beginning of this century: the streets are strait, broad, and well paved: it is adorned with an handsome town-house, and five churches, one of which makes a good figure, being situated in the middle of a square.

Frankfort is in Brandenburg, and was once one of the most considerable cities in the Empire, being an hanse town, and an Imperial city; but it has lost most of its privileges. It is divided into the old and new town by the Oder, over which there is a handsome bridge, instead of an old wooden one, which was burnt in the last war. The

streets are handsome, and many of the houses make a good figure, especially those which have been built since the last war. Their trade is considerable, both with Berlin, Hamburgh, the Baltic, and all Silesia; and before the war raged in Poland, with that kingdom also; so that it is one of the richest places in the King's dominions. They have an university, but it is not very well stocked with students of any consequence, though they have two well-built colleges. The town-house is an handsome building; and the arsenal is large and well filled. The most agreeable part of the town is the great market-place, which is surrounded by the best houses in the place.

The soil around Frankfort is sandy, and not very well inhabited: there is much waste land, which might be cultivated to good profit, considering the near neighbourhood of so many navigations, but encouragement seems to be wanting. I made many enquiries concerning the depredations of the Russians here; and from the information I could get, I have reason to believe that the accounts we had in England were much exaggerated: they burnt some villages, and raised heavy contributions; but as to utterly destroying a whole track of
country

country it was not true. Another circumstance I should remark, which is, the mischief being all repaired which they did; for I have yet seen no signs of any of that ruin which fell from their hands: this is to be attributed to the good conduct of the King of Prussia, who, notwithstanding the general severity of his government, very wisely favoured those parts of his dominions that suffered most by war as soon as the peace was made.

The 18th carried me 36 miles to Berlin, through a continued track of sand, yet tolerably cultivated in some parts, but much of it a dreary waste; and very thinly peopled. They find that the only very profitable crop upon these sands is buck-wheat, which they sow in large quantities, and they get a product which equals the best soils applied to that grain: when a piece of land has been more carefully managed than ordinary, it will yield a good crop of rye; but as to wheat or barley, it is hardly to be seen.

As I designed to make some stay at Berlin I hired private lodgings; of which I had as good for fifteen shillings a week as would have cost me five and thirty at London. But this city is not peopled proportionably to its

size ; hence the general remark, that grass is seen in the streets, which is, however, only in one neglected quarter of the town ; the other parts are very well built ; the streets are remarkably spacious, long, and well paved ; and the buildings in general are such as certainly rank it among the finest cities in Europe. Of the public edifices, those which are usually visited by travellers are, the royal palace, the arsenal, the churches of Notre Dame, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, and the Romish chapel, the theatre, the equestrian statue of Frederick the First, &c. The palace is a magnificent but an unequal building, like all those that are raised at different times : some of the apartments are large, and well proportioned ; but they by no means answered my expectations, either in dimensions, fitting up, or furniture. The immensity of silver, remarked by Mr. Hanway when he was here, was all melted in the late war, and very little of it is restored. Much of the furniture, for a royal palace, is very mean ; but this we are not to be surprized at, as the King gives his attention to so much greater objects. Some of the pictures are fine. The front of the arsenal would be very beautiful, but, as the above-mentioned traveller justly observes, it is profusely loaded

loaded with ornaments. I viewed the contents, and was much entertained with them; for, very contrary to what is seen in most other buildings under this name, here are no useless arms, nothing but what is ready for immediate service. The train is a very fine one. The theatre is in a most grand stile, admirably contrived to give much magnificence to the representation of operas. A very few circumstances excepted, it deserves to be considered as a model for these buildings. The Romish chapel is a monster of disproportion, but the portico is elegant. The equestrian statue of Frederick the First is a fine performance; the horse is remarkably fine, and there is much spirit in the attitude of the figure.

The fortifications of Berlin are regular; but the city is of too great extent to have any thing of strength, if attacked by a powerful army. The number of inhabitants are reckoned at about an hundred thousand. There is always a garrison of from eight to twelve thousand men in it. Charlottenburgh is a small palace within a mile of Berlin; the rooms of which are small, but very elegant; it contains nothing that appears very striking to a traveller; the ball-room is handsome,
but

but much exceeded by many others. The gardens here, as well as at Potsdam, have nothing in them but regularity, which is disgusting. Sans Souci is a detached apartment in a garden; but nothing of this sort that I have seen abroad, is comparable to a number of places we have in England: nor do I think any of these palaces and boxes, in the neighbourhood of Berlin are tolerable in taste: the only natural beauty they had was the river, and that is moulded into a canal for them: they have no verdure; the walks are sand, and the situations in general flats.

There is a good deal of commerce carried on at Berlin, by means of the canals which join the Spree and the Oder, and the Oder and the Elbe; by which means there is a most advantageous communication with Hamburgh, the Baltick, and all Silesia. This is of great consequence to the manufactures of Berlin, which are numerous and flourishing: they have fabricks of silk, stuffs, woollen cloths of several sorts, and in particular one which clothes most of the army; tapestry, laces, glass, a little hardware, &c. The King gives great encouragement to all manufactures, which has had a great effect in a place where he found many fabricks fixed by French refugees

refugees after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, whose posterity now carry on the principal trade of the city. Berlin supplies Silesia with great quantities of these goods; and before the civil war raged in Poland, that kingdom took off much. They have a small export to the Baltic; formerly to Sweden, but that is now no more.

I was twice or thrice at court, more to see the King than for any other entertainment. I saw him about nine years ago, and was much surprized to find him so little altered. The immensity of fatigue, both of body and mind, which he went through during the last war, one would have apprehended, must have entirely broke him; but he has, by a regular way of life, and great abstemiousness, both then and since, prevented any ill effects. Bodily fatigue may be physick, and mental labour not very destructive, but anxiety is the destroyer, against which it is very difficult to guard: for several years the King was uncertain of his fate; victories had little effect, defeats were ruinous, and he could scarcely conjecture whether he was to be stripped of several provinces, or even his whole dominions. In such a situation, we may easily conceive that anxiety must commit great ravages on him;

him; and I must own myself surprized to see his health continue so good. His principal amusement is exercising his troops; to see them, is one of the most entertaining fights at Berlin. It is thought that the King himself has not so nice an eye as formerly to the *minutiae* of the tactic, but his officers keep it up in the highest perfection. His army is at present more numerous, and better provided than ever; they do not fall short of one hundred and forty thousand men; and there is not a regiment in his service that is not ready for marching: his whole army, artillery, baggage, and all attendants, could be in the field upon a week's notice at any time; his fortresses are all in better order than before the last war, and some places made of great strength upon the frontiers of Silesia, which never before were fortified at all. His treasure is reported to be considerable, and he certainly is not encumbered with debts; for the last war, immense as it was to him, did not make him contract a shilling of debt, tho' it is certain his antagonist, the Queen of Hungary, anticipated many of her revenues. If all things are considered, it will appear very evident, that his power is better established than ever, and that he has no prospect
of

of seeing another confederacy which will bear so hard upon him as the last. Austria will not be eager to attack him, after having failed, with every possible advantage on her side. If she could not wrest Silesia from him, when France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony were in alliance with her, and their power so actually brought to bear upon him, that he fought battles with them all; such a confederacy is not to be looked for in an age; and if it failed in its aim, that aim may be pronounced impracticable. Saxony it cannot be expected will unite again, unless it be with Prussia; but the situation of it considered, if it proves an enemy, it will be an enemy swallowed up as in the last war, and the country made to contribute amply to pay the expence of it. Russia will scarcely unite against the King, with whom she is now in close alliance; it would be extremely contrary to her interest. France will always be found in full employment by England; she will not quickly send armies against Prussia. The King therefore has the satisfaction of enjoying peace.

These are the ideas of the Berlin politicians, who all declare the peace will be lasting, from the great jealousy of Austria and Russia, either opposing or uniting with each other :

other : every party is strongly armed, and looks on in silence, except Russia, who, knowing her own strength, and fearless of consequences, carries on a most extensive war with Turkey and in Poland.

The King's revenues amount at present to about a million and an half sterling, a sum which in England appears small ; but if the different value of money there, and in Brandenburg, be considered, and likewise the uncommon exertions of œconomy unequalled in any other court, this sum, I am confident, is in the King's hands as good as four millions, perhaps as five in England. The land-tax throughout his dominions is regular, and equals about nine shillings in the pound : the crown lands yield a considerable rent, and are as well managed to profit as a private gentleman's estate. The customs are but a small article ; they are gathered in his ports on the Baltick and at Embden. The excise is general on all the necessaries of life, and rises so high as forty per cent. These taxes are very heavy ; but such is the regularity of his government, and so little oppression is met with from ministers and revenue-officers, that the people are beyond comparison happier than in the dominions of Saxony, Austria,

stria, or Bavaria. Much of his success in the late war was doubtless owing to the subsidy he received from England: the discontinuance of which, and the breaking off all connections between the two courts, struck hard upon him; for it took him out of the hands of France, from whom he received a subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds a year, and left him without an equivalent from England. The treatment he received from the latter country, upon the change of that ministry which had conducted the war, made an impression upon him much against England, of whom he has often expressed himself with some acrimony: what the result will be in future political arrangements is not easy to say; but if the connection continues between France and Austria, that between England and Prussia must, in the nature of things, be renewed; for when one part of Europe throws itself into an alliance offensive to the rest, a counter alliance must ever be formed, or all good ideas of politicks be absolutely given up.

The 1st of June I left Berlin, and got to Britzen, the distance thirty miles: all which track of country is very sandy, though tolerably populous, and some of it well cultivated.

tivated. They sow much buck-wheat, and were now ploughing for turneps, which they sow the middle of this month : and I believe this root and buck-wheat, with a very little rye, to be all the products these poor sands yield, and yet they seem to be very well manured ; for the countrymen house their cattle in winter, and raise by that means large quantities of dung, which they mix with a kind of stiff earth, which they dig from under the sand ; a compost which I should suppose must agree extremely well with such dry barren soils.

The 2d I advanced no further than Wittenburg, the distance only 15 miles. In this journey from Brandenburg to Saxony the soil changes almost immediately for the better, and the population of the country also. The soil is a good loam, which yields tolerable crops of wheat ; they have also barley, and I remarked a few pieces of flax. Wittenburg was noted before the last war for its cloth manufactories, and for dying better than at any other place in the electorate ; the latter business is yet found here, though not near so much as formerly ; but most of its fabricks are removed to Berlin, so that the
place

place has not been able to recover the ruin it met with in the war. Martin Luther's church is yet standing, tho' three hundred years old, and has seen so many sieges, cannonades, and bombardments, without any damage.

The 3d I went to Leipfick, the distance 30 miles, through a country naturally exceedingly fertile, but carries many marks of the miseries of the late war. Most of it has been well cultivated, but upon riding into several fields, now in grass, and whose appearance indicates wretched management, I found they had been arable ones within a few years; and upon making enquiries, I had several spots pointed out to me whereon stood small villages, consisting of farm-houses, now no more; and all the lands which belonged to them, and once yielded abundant crops of corn, are now little better than waste and common forest land, whereon the tenants of the same landlord turn their cattle. This is not the case with two or three places, but continues for many miles; and is owing to the nobles, to whom the country belongs, having ruined themselves with paying military contributions so often, that at last they had nothing to pay, when their buildings were burnt down, and themselves left too poor to erect

new ones: this is generally the reason why the seat of war is so very injurious to a country; for nothing is so great an evil as land proper for cultivation, belonging to owners too poor to raise the buildings necessary for bringing it into culture. If the landlords of such a country would allow every thing to be destroyed the first campaign, they would be reduced, it is true, but then they would be free from those enormous debts which not only carry their ruin with them to the graves of such as groan under them, but entail misery upon their children.

Leipsick, the suburbs included, is one of the most considerable cities in this part of Germany, notwithstanding its having suffered very severely in the two last wars, and felt some heavy strokes, which are not yet recovered: it has been the theatre of almost every war that has happened in Germany. In the famous one of thirty years it was very often taken and retaken by the Swedes and Imperialists; no less than five times in two years. It felt the weight of Charles XII's invasion of Saxony, than whom there have been few more brutal invaders. And the two last wars succeeding each other very quickly, its trade and buildings much declined in them.

them. The city itself is not an agreeable place, from the narrowness of the streets, and the height of the houses, which rise to eight or nine stories; but the suburbs are much more spacious and better built: they are also pleasant, from the number of areas and gardens in them, and from the conflux of three small rivers. They have not many publick buildings at Leipfick that much deserve a stranger's attention; the best among them is St. Nicholas church, which is a very fine edifice. The town-house in an old but a good structure; the exchange is another; and around the great market place are many houses of private merchants which make an uncommon figure for buildings of that sort; but there are several traders in the city that have made considerable fortunes, and before the last war there were treble the number; but the greatest among them, upon the breaking out of it, removed themselves and their effects to Hamburgh. The university is one of the most famous in Germany, and much frequented by students of family and fortune; but this also declined much in the last war.

Trade is the soul of Leipfick: considering that it is an inland place, and without the advantage even of a navigable river, the great-

ness of its commerce is very surprizing; but it is owing to its fairs, of which they have three very considerable ones every year. To them merchants bring or send goods of all sorts from every part of Europe: all the manufactures of Germany, France, Italy, England, Holland, and Flanders are met with here: vast magazines are formed of East India goods of all sorts; of West India commodities; of wines, brandies, fruits, silk, hemp, flax, iron, and, in a word, all sorts of products; and purchasers resort hither from every part of Germany and the North. These fairs also carry off great quantities of the fabricks which are made at Leipfick, of which there are several sorts; such as silk, cotton and woollen manufactures, paper, gold and silver laces, &c. but all these suffered much from the last war; nor have they recovered themselves to any thing like their former success: indeed, I observed, in conversation with several merchants here, that they had all a distrust that they were by no means secure from fresh visits of the Prussians; and while this is the case (at which we cannot be surprized) it is not to be wondered that commerce and manufactures do not thrive. The injury the whole electorate sustained

sustained last war, in the destruction of its manufactures and trade, the ruin of its agriculture, and the decline of its population, was of an exceedingly great amount, and such as cannot be recovered without the most unremitting attention, and political conduct of half a century; before which time it will probably see, in some cause or other, a renewal of its calamities. If these circumstances are considered, with the oppressive government of all the German princes that have an absolute authority, we shall have reason to wonder at any trade at all being found in Saxony.

The 6th I travelled thirty miles to Meissen, through the finest part of Saxony; and which, notwithstanding the fury of the late war, is now a populous and a well cultivated country: there is a great deal of arable land, and very fine champain fields, covered with corn; many villages, and the people seemed to be active, and quite alive in their business. Part of the females were collected in small knots in the villages, spinning wool; others drove the horses and oxen that drew the ploughs: this employment of the women is an excellent sign, where the men do not, in consequence, indulge in idleness, which is the case in some countries. They cultivate a great deal of wheat and barley, and were now sowing some

buck-wheat; but it is a grain for which their lands are too good, the poorest sands will rival them: they cultivate turneps, cabbages, and also cabbages for feeding themselves and their cattle: their herds are numerous; they feed them not only in their meadows, but also upon clover, of which I saw several large pieces, a thing I had not remarked of a long time. I enquired into their management of it; they sow it with barley, and in the succeeding year either mow it twice for hay, thrice sometimes; or else feed sheep, young cattle, cows, oxen, and horses upon it: the hay they prefer to meadow hay. They keep it two years upon the ground, and after that plough it up for any sort of crop, but do not seem to consider it as a peculiar preparation for wheat, which is the idea in England: it has not long been cultivated here, but spreads very fast, from their finding the profit of it to be great. The lands here are cultivated by both the landlords and peasants; the latter are, in general, farmers, and not of very little spots, but they are bound to apply a part of their time with their teams, &c. to cultivate those parts of the estate which the landlord holds in his own hands, and which are usually pretty considerable.

Meissen

Meissen is a little town, weakly fortified, but with a strong castle on the Elbe: it is only remarkable (the Dresden porcelane excepted) for a covered bridge of wood over that river: the cathedral I had been told was a fine building, with many fine electoral monuments in it, but I found it worthy of very little observation. The manufacture of porcelane was once more famous here than at any other place in Europe; but the last war almost ruined it: upon the King of Prussia's irruption into Saxony, most of the workmen and the materials were removed; but the war continuing so long, and Saxony remaining in the hands of the Prussians, some of the people died, and others were lost; some the King of Prussia secured, and sent them to Berlin, where he attempted to establish a similar manufactory, but he has executed nothing comparable to the old Dresden pieces. Upon the establishment of peace the works at Meissen were restored, and a fresh set of workmen, with some old ones, resumed the manufactory: I have seen the best pieces they have made, and shall venture to assert, that the manufacture is lost; for they are not, in the clearness of the white, to be compared with what they formerly made: as to fine painting, it is any where to be had, and there-

fore not peculiar to the Dresden ware. This is a great loss to the curious, and lovers of fine porcelain all over Europe; and the more so, as none of the numerous fabricks set up in England, France, or Holland, have come near equal to it.

The 17th I reached Dresden, which is only fifteen miles from Meissen, through the most beautiful line of country I have seen in Germany: it is all hill and dale, corn, vines, and meadows along the banks of the Elbe, a continued picture: the river is every where seen to advantage, with the beautiful circumstance of the banks being high and woody; a more entertaining picturesque scene can hardly be viewed.

Dresden, I can easily conceive, was, before the destruction of the suburbs, one of the finest cities in Europe; but the Prussians have much reduced its beauty, by burning down a great part of the most beautiful quarters of it. The old city is fortified in a regular manner; the bastions are of stone, and there is a double ditch, but yet the strength of it is nothing, unless the garrison be very numerous. The river Elbe divides it into two cities, the old and the new. The bridge over that river, which is built of stone, is reckoned the finest in Germany; but no person who has
seen

seen that at Westminster, will think there is either beauty or magnificence in it. It is five hundred and forty feet long, thirty feet broad, and consists of nineteen arches. The electoral palace is not a very striking building for the beauties of architecture, but there are many very fine and spacious apartments in it very splendidly furnished; much of it done since the war; for some of the best furniture was ruined by the Prussians, and a vast number of curiosities carried off. The King, it is supposed, did not design to touch any thing, and no commander keeps a more regular discipline, but in so long a war so full of events, and those remarkably severe, a place of curiosities must necessarily fare but badly. The stables form a magnificent building, being very spacious, and were once filled with some of the finest horses in Germany, but many of the stalls are now unoccupied: indeed the revenues of the electorate suffered to so great a degree in the late war, that Dresden has ever since exhibited a very different appearance; the court is no longer what it was; and all those circumstances which flow from great revenues, have sunk proportionably to the decline which the Saxon income has experienced. No court in Germany was so profuse, but there is an economy in it now, which

which promises a much happier administration of affairs than has been experienced in the two last.

The Romish chapel is one of the finest edifices at Dresden: it is a well-proportioned and magnificent building, most highly ornamented: it was built for the private use of the late King and his court.

The chamber of curiosities hath yet a great many very beautiful models and toys, which cannot fail entertaining any traveller; and the collection, which they call the Kunts-kammer, which is chiefly of natural rarities, is equal to any thing that can be seen; but as the particulars of these things have been published by more than one traveller, I shall not swell these pages with a recital of them. The gallery of pictures is equal to most that are to be seen in Italy, and are kept in admirable preservation. The pieces by Correggio are to be equalled no where but in Parma. A very magnificent work, containing plates of all the pictures in this gallery, was published at Dresden, under the direct inspection of the late King.

The Indian palace, of which several writers have given long accounts, is, in my opinion, a very silly affair; and by no means even elegant. Count Bruhl's famous palace suffered

fered most severely in the war, at which nobody was concerned, from the foundation of all his grandeur being laid in the miseries of the Saxons, and from his being the principal plotter and adviser of that war, which ruined his master. The picture gallery is one of the finest rooms I have any where seen.

From the best accounts I could get while at Dresden, the decline in all the affairs of consequence throughout the government of Saxony, upon account of the late war, is much greater than has been thought by some authors who have written lately. Before the war, the revenues of the electorate, by means however of very great oppression, amounted to a million and an half sterling; but I was assured, that they do not at this day, although near seven years of peace have intervened, rise to seven hundred thousand pounds, and yet the government is burthened with a very heavy debt. Saxony, before the war, contained near two millions of people; it has not now much above one. In Dresden were an hundred and ten thousand people, but at present it would be difficult to find half the number; such strong marks of decline are not to be mistaken, they shew the severity of the late war in the most striking colours; and prove clearly,

clearly, that if it had continued much longer, the whole electorate would have been made a desert.

The present government conducts all things in a very sensible and political manner: they find the wretched state of the country will admit of nothing but an oeconomy, which has not been practised in this country for a long while: the people see and know the public distress, and do not repine at the taxes they are forced to pay, as did all when the amount was squandered by Count Bruhl, and the King, in cloaths, toys, and gewgaws. Only fifteen thousand regular troops are kept up, but they have five or six thousand militia regularly disciplined. This is certainly acting with prudence; for the whole country is so impoverished, that if they raised by taxes a revenue to do otherwise, it must be by the ruin of the people. They must have time, not only to recruit their losses, but also their numbers. The soil is in general fertile, and the Saxons are industrious enough to bring it into culture, if they have time given them, without making even peace itself too burthensome by taxation, and without hurrying them into another war, which could not fail of being ruinous to the whole electorate. Some encouragement has been given to agriculture
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and manufactures since the peace, particularly by an exemption from taxes in certain cases wherein they would be extremely burthenfome: but the essential foundation of tolerable cultivation, or activity in carrying on fabricks, is wanting, which is wealth, or at least easy circumstances in the undertakers; but this electorite the Prussians exhausted to so great a degree, that they left scarcely any wealth in it: the lands are in the hands of nobility so reduced that they can scarcely live; much less are able to carry on improvements in the manner requisite at present for being effectual in reviving husbandry in their country: and when this is the case, such a renovation must be left to common causes, the increase of the people, and of industry among the lower classes, which is always of most slow operation.

The amazing difference of the event of the war to Brandenburg and Saxony is striking: the latter is so ruined and exhausted, as to lie almost at the mercy of any invader; without people, trade, revenues, or forces, on a comparison with what all those articles were before the war: on the contrary, the King of Prussia is in possession of as great an income as ever; a finer army than when he began the war; his dominions suffered indeed, but the wounds

wounds seem to have been but skin-deep: certainly his country was not made the seat of war, in the manner he made that of the Elector of Saxony. The contrast indeed is so striking, that if ever a new war breaks out between Prussia and Austria, Saxony most undoubtedly will not join the latter.

The 12th I set out from Dresden, and got to Leutmeritz, in Bohemia, in two days, passing through Pirna, and by the famous castle of Koningstein. Pirna is a little place among the mountains, and Koningstein is a castle situated on the top of a rock, three hundred feet high, and half a mile in circumference. The way to it is so difficult, that a company is sufficient to defend it against an army. In it is a well above sixteen hundred feet deep, which supplies the garrison with water. In the labyrinth of these rocks and mountains the King of Prussia caught the Saxon army and made them prisoners. The country is in general very wild and romantic, and the views of the Elbe running through such a region of mountains extremely grotesque. There are some vineyards planted upon southern spots of these mountains, where the grapes ripen tolerably, but the wine is not drinkable to those who have been used to that which is good.

C H A P. IX.

Journey across Bohemia—Prague—Description of the country—The people—Nobility—Husbandry—Manufactures—Moravia—Olmütz—Brinn—Journey to Vienna—Description of the capital.

LEUTMERITZ is a small town in Bohemia, situated on the river Elbe; it has some fortifications, but none of any great strength: near this place the King of Prussia gained a great victory over the Austrians in the last war. The neighbouring country was several times the seat of war, and suffered much: part of the mischiefs done are not yet recovered; for there are several tracks of land, belonging to a Bohemian nobleman, who resides at Vienna, which were once arable, but are now over-run with grass and weeds, and still have not near a stock of cattle proper for the land; and some villages are of a very poor appearance, with several houses almost burnt down, that have not yet been repaired. The country that is cultivated does not seem to be managed in an able manner,

ner, and the peasants are much worse treated than they are in Saxony.

The 18th I reached Prague, the capital of Bohemia, and one of the largest cities in Europe. The country through which the road runs is various; much of it is of a fruitful soil, and tolerably cultivated in some parts, but there are in every track many marks of bad husbandry and inattention, greatly owing, I suppose, to a want of industry, and partly to the oppression which the peasants experience. They have some tolerable crops of wheat, but I never saw worse barley, or any corn more full of weeds; and they value it so little, that on various pieces of barley and pease I saw cattle feeding, which made me enquire if they were sown with intention to be eat green; but that was not the case, it is a mere instance of stupid neglect. I observed one or two pieces of flax, which looked very well. The winter food of their cattle is principally the cabbage turnep, and red cabbage, which they cultivate in large quantities. I saw several young plantations of them, but they do not seem to manage them well.

Prague is very well situated on the river Muldaw; it is divided into two cities by that river. The fortifications are regular, and much

much superior to what they were before the last war; but the city is of so great an extent that it requires an army to defend it. It suffered very much by the siege it stood in the beginning of the war against the King of Prussia, who cannonaded and bombarded it in so severe a manner, that not many buildings escaped; whole quarters were beat down, or burnt, and I was shewn several very large gardens and young orchards, which before that siege were entirely covered with houses, and the people are too poor to rebuild them in a place where there are yet more houses than are occupied: scarcely any of the publick buildings escaped damage at the same siege. The university is one of the most famous in Germany, and has a vast number of students; the people at Prague talk of five thousand; what they might be formerly I know not, but at present they are short of three thousand. In 1409, when John Hufs was rector, it is a fact that there were thirty thousand students here. The Jesuits college is one of the finest buildings in the city, but it suffered by several unlucky cannon balls, and is not thoroughly repaired. The bridge, which joins the old and the new town, is fifteen hundred and eighty feet long, by thirty broad, and has seventeen arches, and

is all of stone ; it is a solid edifice, has nothing of elegance in it ; and when a traveller hears that it was an hundred and fifty years a building, he will suppose it must have been in an age extremely poor, or been undertaken by a prince of little spirit. The finest edifices in the world are rarely those which were so long in raising. St. Peter's at Rome is an instance against me ; but St. Paul's at London, and the bridge at Westminster, are strong ones in my favour, and many more might be quoted. The royal palace, and the cathedral, are very mean buildings, and contain scarcely any thing worthy of notice. What at Prague are much the best worth seeing, are the palaces of the nobility ; some of which are very noble edifices, that would make a great figure in the best built cities of Italy ; several of them are of very great size, with most spacious apartments, and very magnificent furniture. Those of the princes Lobcowitz, and Ischarnan, and the counts Gala, Straka, Czaflaw, and Manstein, deserve particular attention ; they contain many apartments that are worthy of sovereign princes, but the number of very good pictures is trifling.

Most of the Bohemian nobility, who are a numerous body, keep their residence in winter at Prague, and in summer on their estates.

None

None of them resort to Vienna, but such as are in office in the court, which is a very uncommon instance. It is their presence in this city that alone supports it : for without their resort, and the garrison, which is generally pretty numerous, the city would be a desert, being utterly destitute of both trade and manufactures : the university does something, but not much. All the lower classes here are poor ; the burghers are treated by the nobles very contemptuously, to a degree not common elsewhere : if the place was ever so well situated for trade, or manufacture, this would be a sure means of damping their progress.

The 16th I left Prague, and went to Nymburg, a small town twenty five miles distant ; the country various, but much of it pretty tolerably cultivated, rather better than the track to the north of Prague. The peasants are treated in a wretched manner ; they have hovels of the worst sort to live in, little better than those in Westphalia, being loose stones laid on one another for the walls, and the crevices filled with mud, and the covering some strong poles, with turf spread on them, and a hole at top in the middle is all the chimney that any of them have ; adjoining is their barn, built of the same materials, in which they stow their little corn, and keep their

cattle in winter ; each cottage has a few acres of land around it, with a cow or two, and a miserable pair, either of horses or oxen, for ploughing their land. In general, Sunday is the only day in the week which they are allowed for cultivating this land, in order to raise provisions for subsisting on the whole week ; but in seed-time and harvest their lords indulge them with another. When I speak therefore of the husbandry of the country, I do not mean of the peasants, nor of the farmers, for there is scarcely any such thing, but of the nobility, and other landlords, who all cultivate their own estates by means of their agents and stewards. The peasants in every respect resemble nearly those of Poland, than whom they are not favoured more.

At first sight it may appear, that landlords, who act upon this system, must make far more of their estates than those who lett them in the English manner to farmers, because here the profit of the farmer is consolidated with that of the landlord ; but, from the repeated observations which I have often had occasion of making, I am convinced that the case is the very contrary. If any estate was only of such a size as to form a good farm it would be very true ; but estates are thus cultivated

tivated whose extent is from twenty to thirty thousand acres of cultivated land, either meadow, pasture, arable, sheep-walk, or woods, all in some culture or other, and a vast track arable. To be forced to cultivate such immense farms, they are obliged to have swarms of bailiffs and agents. In every place where a farm-house should be is a bailiff's house, who manages a certain track of land. Thus the landlord is at the monstrous expence of stocking his whole estate, and running all the chances of that stock, and at the same time has to keep as many bailiffs as if they were farmers, and who all live out of the land before he has his clear profit, as much as if they were farmers; with this great distinction, that being merely servants they have little interest in the success of their husbandry, and consequently the master suffers all the usual inconveniences of such a situation: his agents of all sorts cost him as much as farmers would make for themselves, supposing them honest; and if they turn out otherwise, a great deal more. Thus he gets none of the farmers profit, at the same time that he loses the interest of all the money employed in stocking, and bears the chances to which that stock is liable. From which state of the affair I think it is very evident, how

much more beneficial it is to lett out an estate to farmers, for them to find the stock, cultivate the land, and employ the peasants, not only in mere profit of the year, but with a view to future improvements, which must always be conducted with far more effect by the people who work for their own interest, than by others who do it for a master; and a master perhaps who is always absent, or, if present, who understands nothing of the matter. What great improvements have been made in England by tenants, who enjoy the benefit during their lease, and then pay a fresh rent to their landlords on account of those very improvements! In population also the prince would reap a very great benefit; for when men are working for themselves, their industry will be very different from that of servants; and in proportion to the general industry, must population be: the peasants would likewise meet with less oppression, and consequently increase more.

They sow a good deal of wheat in this line of country, but their principal crop is barley. I observed many plantations of hops in the warm vales, where the soil is rich and deep: it is a common culture in most parts of Bohemia, I am told; and when the spot chosen for a hop-garden is suitable, they find it more profitably

profitably applied than for any other crop. Beer is a very great article of trade throughout the kingdom, much being exported to all the surrounding countries; this makes barley and hops particularly advantageous. Saffron is another crop, which I saw now and then: they prefer a light, dry loam on a stratum of rock for it; they think it very profitable; an acre of good saffron is worth about three pounds here. Turneps and cabbages they have in large quantities for the winter support of their cattle: they prefer the latter in general: I saw many crops somewhat advanced in growth, but they do not seem to be attentive to keeping them free from weeds.

The 17th I reached Leutmyffel, at the distance of forty-five miles, passing through two or three pretty towns upon the banks of the Elbe. This country is more beautiful than the preceding, and of a richer soil; in some parts there are hills, but not so great as to be unprofitable land, while the vales form some very rich arable and meadow land; most of which is pretty well cultivated, under wheat, barley, and beans, which are much sown here: wheat yields from two, to two and an half quarter per acre; barley something more; beans four quarters; they choose for these their stiffest wet soils. They feed on their mea-

dows large herds of cows and oxen, and keep many sheep, but do not manufacture the wool; most of it is sold to Silesia and Saxony, both of which are much more industrious countries: They work up however some of their own flax into the same sort of linens as are made in Silesia, which is an employment of the poor people in many of the little towns in this kingdom; their earnings at this work are very small; a weaver in Silesia will earn about three and sixpence a week, but in Bohemia not more than half a crown; but provisions of all sorts are very cheap in both these countries. I saw two or three country seats belonging to noblemen; they are all built in the castle form, with a moat round, and seem to be extremely spacious: a nobleman of great fortune in this country has seldom less than two or three hundred servants about him, when at his castle in the country; and he is an absolute monarch upon his estate, with power over every thing but life and death, and the royal revenue officers. This kind of dominion over all the lower classes flatters the vanity and pride of the great, more than the amount of the advantages they would gain by the peasants being free: it is like the contrast of absolute authority to the limited power possessed by some kings; the latter makes

makes their people happy and rich, and might have the same effect upon themselves, but they are all hunting after the former.

The 18th I got to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia, the distance forty miles, crossing the mountains which separate the two countries; these are not very lofty, nor craggy, but they fill a track of country of several miles broad; they exhibit a wild territory, but little of which is cultivated: the peasants that inhabit these hills are a rough intractable set of men, that will not submit to the oppressions under which their brethren of the plains groan; they have been often in rebellion, not against the sovereign, but the lords to whom they are vassals; they are, in many respects, treated much better, and their houses and little farms make a much better appearance; they have more and better cattle; some of them are in possession of small pieces of land which they have purchased, and all are extremely tenacious of this kind of property; they do not work for their masters more than three days in a week. It is always to be remarked, that the gradations of freedom are ever to be found in mountainous countries; in general such are free; but even under absolute monarchs they enjoy more liberty, than the subjects of the same prince who inhabit
plain

plain countries. To live in hilly countries requires more activity and vigour of body; the very moving from one place to another is laborious; the cold and blustering climates found in them contribute to bracing up the human body, and to make it hardy. It hath the same effect as is seen in cold climates, compared with hot ones, in whatever parts of the world they may be found. After the mountains are passed that separate the two countries, I went through a great extent of forest and marsh land, very little of which is cultivated; and not much of it would pay for culture, unless the country in general was richer than it is.

Olmütz is a small but very well built city, prettily situated on the little river Moravia. It is a strong place both by nature and art; so that the King of Prussia, when he made the famous irruption into Moravia, and laid siege to it, did not seem to have had good intelligence of the state of the town, or the garrison. The streets are regular and well paved, and there are many good houses in it; the only public buildings of any note are the Jesuits college, the bishop's palace, and the town-house; the market place is surrounded by several well built houses. It is an agreeable town, and the inhabitants seem to be a very sociable people,

people, with more activity and industry than is to be found among the Bohemians. Provisions are very cheap here : I lived at the Empress's Arms inn two days upon exceeding good fish and fowl, and good Hungarian wine; and when I paid my reckoning, I found that six shillings went to the full as far as a guinea in England. Beef is only three half pence a pound; mutton is sometimes sold at a penny; and a fat turkey is to be bought for fourteen pence.

The 21st I left Olmutz, and proceeded to Brinn, the distance thirty miles, through a much more fertile country than north of Olmutz; it is better peopled, and much more of it cultivated: they do not sow much wheat here, but a great deal of rye, barley, pease, and beans and the crops in general carried a good appearance: they keep great herds of cattle, feeding them in winter on cabbages, turneps, and straw; all the latter, which they give to their cattle, they cut almost as small as chaff, with an engine made on purpose, very different from the chaff-cutter used in England. They chop the turneps or cabbages into small pieces, and give them with chopt straw, and find that they go much the farther, and nourish the cattle much better. I never heard of any thing of this sort
being

being practised in England ; yet I should apprehend that it could not fail of answering extremely ; it is certainly much worth the trial. They have vast herds of swine, which find their own subsistence in woods, and swampy grounds, for most part of the year. They fatten them on beans, pease, and potatoes, which they cultivate on purpose ; sending great quantities of bacon to Vienna, &c.

Brinn is well situated on the confluence of two rivers, and is reckoned the strongest place in Moravia ; it has a castle that is very strong ; the Austrians have usually a good garrison here ; several new fortifications have been added, both to this place and to Olmutz, since the last war, which I suppose were occasioned by the King of Prussia's bold march into this country, which alarmed them excessively at Vienna. There are about six thousand inhabitants in Brinn ; the streets are narrow and crooked, but many of the houses very well built, and some of the public edifices make a tolerable appearance, particularly the Jesuits college, and the churches of St. James and St. Thomas.

The 22d I reached Laba, a little town thirty miles from Brinn ; the country between them is better than the preceding ; has less waste land, fewer forests and marshes ; and the

the arable land beyond comparison better cultivated: this is in a great measure owing to the attention given to husbandry improvements by the court of Vienna. They were at the expence some years ago of bringing several Flemish farmers from the country between Ostend and Bruges; three of them were settled in this country, being supplied with all sorts of implements, cattle, houses, land, &c. by the Empress Queen, and fixed upon some waste but very fertile lands belonging to the crown. They have had a large succession of Moravian peasants regularly working under them, in order to be instructed in the Flemish husbandry; who being discharged when fresh ones are taken have much spread several excellent customs, and will in all probability much improve the agriculture of the greatest part of the province. The effect has already been very considerable; for though these Flemings do not occupy a thousand acres of land in all, yet their methods already spread over a country near fifteen miles long; all the husbandry of which is by their means much improved. They have introduced clover here, which turns out one of the most beneficial crops that can be sown; they have also made this culture of clover a preparation for wheat, so that they have almost entirely banished

banished the custom of fallowing for wheat, which was the common method in Moravia. Spurry they also brought with them, with which they fed cows. To them likewise the Moravians are indebted for a much more systematic management of manure than what they formerly followed: They form composts of dung, rotten vegetables, vast quantities of leaves, swept up on purpose in the open forests, turf, ashes, and other materials, which they mix together several times, and spread upon their clover fields, and on their cabbage grounds. They have also made them abundantly more attentive in keeping all their crops clear from weeds, and in good order, by hoeing and weeding; all the cabbages I saw in this district, which has been profited thus from the example of the Flemings, were in very fine order, both in respect to pulverized soil, and a clearness from weeds.

I saw the castle of baron Skulitz, who had been extremely attentive in spreading this good Flemish husbandry. He resides constantly on his estate, and makes agriculture not only his business but also his amusement. Immediately on their exhibiting a culture superior to the old management of the Moravians, he followed it with so much intelligence and spirit, that he has advanced the value

lue of his estate considerably : he entered presently into all their views, and introduced the best husbandry of the Austrian provinces upon his own lands. Falling into discourse on the road with one of his bailiffs, he pointed out to me several large tracks of land, which not long ago were entirely waste, but are now by this worthy nobleman's attention better cultivated than most of the province. He has introduced various new branches of husbandry, which answer better than common crops ; among these, hops and saffron he brought from Bohemia ; madder from Silesia ; and he raises both hemp and flax in large quantities : all these crops he is remarkably attentive to, and gives them such uncommon fair play, that his first trials, contrary to what is generally met with, turned out greatly successful ; from whence he has been induced to continue them ever since, and greatly to enlarge all his plantations of them ; by which, and various other means, he has improved his revenues in a surprising manner.

The owners of extensive landed estates, in poor countries, have all such an opportunity of increasing their income, that it is very amazing they do not oftener take advantage of it. If, like the nobleman here mentioned, they

they would reside upon their estates, instead of spending all their time in the capital, squandering their revenues in a gulf of luxury, the measure of which is never full, and which cannot fail of impoverishing them, and bringing them into the most slavish dependence upon the will of the court: if they would act thus, they would find money flow into their coffers in a far greater abundance than they can ever hope to receive from the smiles of ministers, at the same time that they would reside where a shilling goes as far as a pound. In the profusion of a capital, the greatest estates are spent without making any unusual figure; but in the country, half the income would enable them to build and furnish costly palaces, and raise whole cities around them to be witnesses of their splendor. —I have, in the course of my travels, met with several instances which shew, in the clearest light, the enjoyment and undoubted happiness which this kind of life confers, even upon noblemen, whose rank and revenue would allow them all the amusements of any metropolis. It is a most happy thing to any country, when a sovereign gives all the encouragement in his power to promote this rural attention in nobles, which cannot fail
of

of turning out highly beneficial to the whole community.

The 23d I got to Vienna, which is five-and-twenty miles from Laba; through a country that is very unequal, part of it being very rich, populous, and well cultivated, and much of it hilly, wild, and to appearance barren. In the cultivated tracks are many noblemen's seats; and the husbandry around them is visibly much better than elsewhere, which is owing to their drawing the peasants, as it were, into a string around them. They plant great quantities of saffron, which they reckon the most profitable crop they have: they have also plenty of good crops of wheat and barley; and their extensive meadows and pastures feed large herds of cattle, which, from the neighbourhood of Vienna, turn to very good account. I saw several crops of the turnep cabbage for cattle. But husbandry suffers much in all this country, and indeed through most parts of Germany, for want of inclosures: they might easily make them, and at a small expence, but neglect the work entirely, which must be for want of fully understanding the advantages of them: indeed, labour is of so little value, that every sort of cattle has always a keeper with them, tho'

the herd is ever so small, yet corn and saffron often suffer.

Vienna is situated on the south side of the Danube, but has not the advantage of that great river running through it; for it stands on a small branch of it, there being several islands formed here, by the river dividing itself. If the suburbs are included, it is a very large city, but within the walls and fortifications it is only three miles in circumference. It is regularly fortified, but has so few outworks as to be a place of small strength, and only defended by a small army. At the siege in 1683 the Turks shewed themselves to be extremely ignorant in the art of conducting such an enterprize; and their engineers were miserable ones, else they might have taken the city some time before the King of Poland raised the siege; and had that event happened, Hungary had now been in possession of the Ottomans.

Vienna within the walls makes a most inelegant appearance, from the narrowness of the streets. I am one who would not give sixpence for a fine building, if there is not a sufficient area to view it from. The English boast of the church of St. Paul's at London, and will sometimes assert it equal to St. Peter's at Rome; but if it were doubly finer, I should prefer

prefer St. Peter's from the opportunity one has of viewing it; and the area around a great building ought to be so much esteemed a part of it as to be criticised with it; and the architect's abilities called in question for faults in it, as much as if he blundered in the proportion of the cupola. Thus in Vienna there are many palaces (of which I had read and heard much) in streets as narrow as old Bristol; and at the same time all the houses are five, six, seven, and some of them eight stories high; and it is said they have almost as many stories of cellars under ground as of floors above. Formerly all the windows were grated with iron bars, like prisons, from the street to the upper floor, and vast numbers of houses are so now; but I see it is left off in the principal palaces.

The imperial palace is a structure that will answer to none that sees it; it consists of several courts, surrounded with irregular buildings; though, notwithstanding some late additions, it makes but a very mean appearance; their apartments are neither spacious, nor furnished in a manner one would expect, for a court long famed as one of the most expensive in Europe. The library is supposed to rank among the first in Europe; the number of

volumes are not less than ninety thousand; and the collection of manuscripts supposed to be extremely valuable. I was shewn several great curiosities, but upon these occasions there never is time allowed for any useful examination; and if they were, it would signify little to the unlearned in the oriental tongues, in which the most valuable manuscripts are written.

Many of the palaces of the nobility are most magnificent structures; that of the great Eugene, with his famous library and collections, I had most pleasure in viewing: the Mansfield palace, and that of Count Daun, are also great edifices, with several others, in which the painting, gilding, carving, and furniture, are as rich as possible.

The university of Vienna is very famous in Germany and Hungary; the number of students is considerable, and they have good accommodations for those of fortune, and many valuable privileges.

There is not much worth seeing in the churches of Vienna; the cathedral is the principal, and it is a large building; but nothing is uncommon in it but the height of its spire, which, since Strasburg is become French, is the highest in the empire. The Jesuits church is a fine building; and the convents of Carmelites,

Carmelites, Franciscans, Benedictines, and Austin Friars, are visited by those who take any delight in viewing these sort of buildings; for my part, I have an aversion at seeing such useful edifices filled with tribes of pernicious orders of lazy priests, who do nothing to gain their livelihood, but are maintained by the industry of every body else. It is amazing that Roman Catholic princes do not find out that every monk in their dominions might be a soldier, without the country suffering a whit the more: and in many cases the soldier would pay well for his maintenance; but as to the monk, he is subsisted in the most unuseful of all species of idleness. But there are other instances of the catholic piety of Vienna besides her monks and nuns; in one of the squares is a very large and costly statue of the Trinity, representing the Deity clasping Christ in his arms, and the Holy Ghost hovering over them. This was erected by the Emperor Leopold, instead of an equestrian statue, which, in other cities, would have been erected to the sovereign. To this famous piece of folly all the Roman Catholics bow as they pass. Religious prejudices should certainly be laid aside by all travellers; but is it possible for a man of sense not to rejoice, that education has not enslaved him to

an observance of, or veneration for such mummery? In many instances, religion makes Roman Catholic countries extremely disagreeable.

I brought several letters of recommendation to Vienna, to persons from whose conversation I expected some valuable information, concerning the general state of all the Austrian dominions at present, in respect of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, revenues, and military power, but I was strangely disappointed; there is a haughty reserve in every man of the least consequence here, which not only precludes any information of this sort, but at the same time renders a residence in any but a public character very disagreeable at Vienna. But after all my letters had failed, that is, introduced me only to people who thought that I had no business with any thing but eating, drinking, going to court, and playing at cards, a life by no means agreeable to me; after this, I fell accidentally into company with a field-officer in their service, a native of Milan: this gentleman was extremely communicative, very sensible, and had travelled often through most of the dominions of the Empress Queen. He gave me a very rational and candid account of things, as appeared by his manner, and the

the confirmations I had afterwards from several persons in other parts of Europe. To agriculture this gentleman had not at all attended; he could give me no more account of its general state in the countries he had been in, than with that of the moon. I found from him, however, that the manufactures which have lately been established in Hungary flourish very much; the Empress Queen and her ministers have long been eager to cloath her troops with her subjects manufactures, instead of felling all their wool unmanufactured. Hungary, as well as Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, feed many sheep, especially Hungary, a great part of which is a continued and fertile sheep-walk. Great number of Hungarians have been set to work upon this wool; and weavers, spinners, reelers, &c. brought from Flanders, to teach the natives to work it; and many of them have proved very docile in learning: so that at present, woollen goods are made to the amount of near an hundred thousand pounds a year, which is a very great thing in Hungary; where, before these exertions, were no manufactures at all. They are established in most of the populous towns of that kingdom; and if they are brought to employ the poor people in them, who have no other employment,

ployment, it will be an immense acquisition, and save the export of very great sums of money. As to trade, the inland situation of the Austrian dominions is such as allows of very little foreign commerce. Attempts were made at Triest, but they were so languid, and suffered such interruptions during the war, that the commerce of the port is yet nothing that deserves mentioning, notwithstanding that an active prince, liberal in useful expence, and attentive to such improvements, might have made Triest the seat of a considerable commerce; but all these circumstances have been wanting.

The revenues of the dominions of the house of Austria are considerable; the following account of them was given to this gentleman by a person who had many opportunities of being well informed.

Bohemia	—	—	£ 700,000
Moravia	—	—	190,000
Hungary	—	—	400,000
Austria	—	—	400,000
Transilvania	—	—	50,000
Slavonia and Croatia	—	—	100,000
Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola	—	—	200,000
Tyrol, Brixen, Trent	—	—	160,000
The countries of Swabia	—	—	20,000
			The

G E R M A N Y.

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The Netherlands	————	150,000
Milan and Mantua	————	400,000
Tuscany	————	500,000
		————
Total	————	£ 3,270,000
		————

What degree of accuracy there is in this table I am not able to ascertain; but from the information I have received from other hands, I believe the total to be near the truth; but Tuscany must not be reckoned. The common idea at Vienna coincides with these particulars which makes the Imperial revenue near three millions; though there are some sanguine politicians who insist on its amounting to five, but that is much exaggerated. The revenues of all these countries might be very much improved; nobody doubts, but a better system of taxation, and a more economical collection, would raise five millions, with very near as much ease to the people as three at present; but the lower classes of the people, throughout most of these dominions, are miserably fleeced and pillaged, while the nobility escape with paying a much less proportion than they ought. The Netherlands might in particular yield a very considerable revenue, and prove the finest and most profitable provinces

vinces belonging to the house of Austria; but in order to that, great changes should be made in the constitutions of the cities; manufactures should receive encouragement, and commerce be re-established in the ports; all which might be easily done, and the revenues of the sovereign become wonderfully improved; whereas, at present they yield no more than might be expected if they were situated no better than Austria, or Moravia, instead of being the finest spot in Europe in every respect, and inhabited by a people naturally as industrious as any in the world. Flanders, since the Dutch were masters of the navigation to Antwerp has wanted a port; but Ostend, for an hundred thousand pounds, might be made as good a one as any in Europe for merchantmen.

The many improvements which have been talked of by the court of Vienna for the hereditary dominions, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, were they put in execution, would at the same time much improve the revenue, and in a manner free the country of those evils which usually flow from increasing the public income of a crown. But there is a dilatoriness and a languor in every thing transacted at this court, even in its own most intricate concerns, that damp the spirit
of

of all improvement; so that any object of this sort, upon a moderate computation, will be talked of half a century before it is executed: this was the case with the establishment of the woollen manufacture in Hungary, and with every thing else; so that it is not thought the Austrian revenues, however they would admit of it, will for a long time be put upon a better footing than they are, or have any other improvements than what results from oppressing the lower classes of the people still more; than which, no measure can give a greater stab to all general national improvements. Was the King of Prussia possessed of the Austrian dominions in exchange for his own, we should soon see them make a very different appearance; he would raise much greater revenues, with far greater ease to the people; and would throw such a vigour into all the transactions, which the possession of Flanders and the Italian dominions would introduce him to, that the importance of them would speedily appear in a very different light from what they do at present.

The great object of attention at Vienna is the army; this is so far reprehensible in politics, as it encreases the necessity of laying a foundation previous to every superstructure: it is the revenue that pays and supports the army,
and

and all increase of the latter must depend on a foregoing increase of the former: to raise a great revenue is much more essential than to raise a great army; but the soldiers have a peculiar faculty of swallowing up a revenue, they have none at creating it. That prince, therefore, who would be truly formidable, should attend to the prosperity of his income, before he thinks of greatly increasing his troops.

The following are the particulars of the present standing forces of the house of Austria. I insert them on the same authority as the above paper of the revenue; believing, from other information which I have received, that it is near the truth; though I should remark, that all lists of armies are apt to exceed the reality, rather than fall beneath it.

			<i>Men.</i>
Dragoons	—	—	23,846
Cuirassiers	—	—	16,000
Hussars and Croats		—	14,640
Hunters	—	—	6,300
Free troops	—	—	8,000
Infantry	—	—	165,386
Artillery	—	—	2,800
Total	—	—	235,972

The

The whole army, whatever the total may be, is certainly in excellent order; the regiments full, and well officered; their cloathing regularly delivered; their arms much better than ever; the artillery very numerous; and no expence has been spared in forming engineers; the magazines of ammunition and all sorts of military stores full, and in good order: these attentions have occupied the court ever since the peace, and they have been indefatigable in them. Now that all these particulars are compleated; they are employed in repairing all the fortifications in Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary, and Transilvania; new ones are in some places erecting, and many old ones greatly improved; this is a work of immense expence, and consequently it goes on slowly. In every one of these particulars, the Austrians strength is greater than at the breaking out of the last war. I before remarked, that the case was the same with the King of Prussia. These potentates are certainly jealous of each other, but, I believe, in no respect that threatens a fresh war; but the state of affairs in other parts makes it necessary for them to be strongly armed. The aspect of affairs in Prussia and Poland fills the house of Austria with uneasiness; and although Prussia espouses in her manifestos

festos the same cause in Polish affairs as the Russian Empress, still it can only be because the power of that empire is too great for him to break with. Most certainly the increase of the formidableness of Russia ought, in good politics, to fill both Prussia and Austria with the deepest jealousy: future alliances with it, in case of a new war with Germany, must be very uncertain; and against whoever she declares, her weight will probably fall too heavy to be resisted. The opportunity of the war between the Russians and Turks has generally been taken by the Austrians for attacking the Porte: such a measure now would insure the restoration of Belgrade and Servia, and perhaps yet greater advantages; but not making use of it may be owing to two reasons: first, in return for the Turks not playing the same game when the Empress Queen was at war with Prussia; and secondly, because such a conduct would give greater advantages to the arms of Russia than the house of Austria wishes to see.

C H A P. X.

Journey from Vienna through Austria—Description of the Archduchy—Bavaria—Munich—Revenues and Forces.

JULY 1st I left Vienna, and that day travelled forty miles to St. Poltu, through a very various country. Near Vienna it is very gay, being lightly adorned with villas, which have extensive gardens and planted groves about them, but all in a miserable taste. I stopped to view one pretty near the road, which the postilions told me belonged to a great nobleman at court; a description of the ground before the house will give a tolerable idea of the taste most prevalent here in ornamenting their country seats. A canal with a small bridge over it in the center parted the area before the house from the road: from the bridge to the house door was about an hundred yards; a broad stone-way led from one to the other; on each side, ranged in exact order, was a statue, an urn, and a cross interchangeably; these were on a slip of grass: on the other side two canals nicely laid out, like the former, by rule, and at each corner of the three a statue. The ground on each side was formed
into

into a grass-plat, surrounded by a parterre of flowers, and in the center of each plat a small fountain. From these particulars of the approach to a rural villa, all unseen may be very exactly guessed; and it evidently appears that the Austrians are at least one hundred years behind us in the art of gardening. It is the same with the French, and all the other nations of Europe. In some gardens I was shewn when in Italy, before I was told that they were executed in imitation of nature, upon the plan of my countryman Brown, whose fame had reached there; and it is not easy to be conceived how ridiculous every thing was; the least deviations from line and compass work, amidst a great deal of it, were esteemed exertions in the art of imitating nature. A more ridiculous jumble was never seen; much worse than those made purely artificial.

Ornamenting a piece of ground in the manner of our great gardener, and in the taste yet superior, in which some private gentlemen in England have laid out their grounds, is an art that requires genius, and more attention than will ever be given to it in countries where they reside ten months out of the twelve in the capital, and very many the other two also; where this is the case the expence will not be spared, for what is wanting in every thing that relates

lates to the country; no article about a nobleman while he resides in the country in England, but what infinitely exceeds that of any foreign nobleman of equal fortune. Their wealth is all expended upon their town houses and their town residence; it is not therefore to be wondered at any more, that the English have not such fine palaces in London, or that the French and Italians have not such fine country seats.

These forty miles do not exhibit an agriculture that is very flourishing, yet the country is not much in want of people, for the towns and villages are thick. The soil is in general very good, but they do not seem to have any ideas of cultivating it with neatness: wild shrubbery grounds are suffered to break into the corn, in ragged borders, and small waste spots, where the plough, upon account of some hillock, or hole, does not go, are left covered with weeds, to blow all over their fallows: they have no idea of cleaning such spots by way of prevention, and such numbers of them as I saw in this day's journey would not be met with in half an English county. They sow large quantities of saffron, which they reckon a profitable culture, an acre yielding a produce of about three pounds, if the crop is good. There are many vineyards,

but the wine sells so badly, that they assured me, corn and saffron were in general much better and more profitable ; and they do not confine their vines to tracks improper for ploughing.

Wheat, barley, rye, pease, and beans, are commonly cultivated, but no oats ; the crops are but middling. Turneps, turnep cabbages, cabbages, and potatoes, are cultivated in large quantities ; the former for cattle, and the potatoes for fattening hogs, for which they boil them. They have large herds of swine, which feed all summer long in the woods, many of which are extensive. Horned cattle are also very plentiful here ; and as they house them in the winter, they raise large quantities of dung, which ought to ensure a much better husbandry than theirs. I passed a small farm, near St. Poltu, that was cut out of a waste, and to appearance a barren common, on the side of a large hill, disposed into ten fields by beautiful quick hedges, which put me in mind of the best cultivated part of England : the inclosures rising one above another, on the side of the hill, were seen distinctly from the road ; they were covered with various crops, which appeared much superior to those of the cultivated parts of the country I had passed ; the house was small but extremely neat. As soon as I had looked attentively

tively at this very agreeable sight I was going to make up to it; but recollecting that I should be in the dark, I determined to go on to the stage, and come next morning to view that farm, which seemed a creation in the midst of a desert.

I accordingly put my intention in execution the morning of the 2d, and returned about three miles to the place, and asking for the master of it, he appeared immediately; a fine tall, open-countenanced soldier, in an old suit of regimentals. I desired to see his farm, upon which he very readily walked with me into it. I went through all the ten inclosures; the hedges were regularly planted, and had each of them a ditch; the gates were all in good order, and every thing carried an appearance of neatness, most uncommon in Germany. He had three meadows, each of them watered by a small stream he had brought from the hill above his farm; it filled a little pond for watering the cattle, and might be conducted at pleasure, in the proper season, over all parts of the fields for manuring them, which he practises in winter and spring. He had a field of wheat, another of barley, two of clover, and three of turneps and cabbages; and his fields were all much of the same size, being each about six English acres. Turneps and cabbages he grew on his fallow

for cleaning the land ; succeeded them with barley, and then took clover, upon which he sows his wheat. This husbandry, which nearly resembles the best of Flanders, surprized me in the midst of Austria, where nothing of the kind is to be found. He keeps a dairy of cows, a small flock of sheep on the neighbouring waste, and oxen for ploughing and carting ; he houses all his cattle in winter ; his sheep every night in sheep houses ; and litters every thing well with fern, which he cuts upon the waste. He is extremely attentive to raising large quantities of dung, which he manages by keeping as many cattle as he possibly can, and by mixing turf and virgin earth with his dung as the cattle make it all winter long ; by this means he is enabled to manure three fields, or eighteen acres, very richly every year ; but what gives a virtue to his dunghill superior to any thing else, is his bringing all the human ordure away from the little town of Poltu, for which some of the inhabitants, ignorant of its value, give a trifle for taking it away : he is at the expence of cleaning all the necessaries there, and of carting it to his farm : he mixes it up with his dung and virgin earth, and assures me that it forms the richest compost in the world : all the manure he raises in this manner being applied to his turnep and cabbage grounds, he
gets

gets prodigious crops of those vegetables; and I remarked that they were kept perfectly free from weeds by hoeing: his cabbages are all planted in regular rows on ridges, and the spaces between the rows ploughed several times while growing, as well to kill the weeds as to keep the land in good tillage; all which appeared to me to be an excellent system. His crops of wheat yield four quarters an acre; his barley five; his clover gives four tons of hay at two mowings; and his turneps and cabbages maintain a vast flock: an acre of the former he reckons sufficient to winter-feed two oxen or cows; one of cabbages will winter three or four; but the expences of them are higher. All these crops, I suppose, are equal to the best cultivated parts of England.

Upon returning to his house he gave me his history. He was a corporal in a regiment of foot, quartered during six years in Flanders and Brabant, where, as he had always a strong bent towards husbandry, he remarked very minutely their practices, and often worked in the fields for Flemish farmers. Upon the war breaking out with the king of Prussia he was early in that service, and made a serjeant, in which capacity he behaved so much to Marshal Daun's satisfaction at the battle of Hockchirken, in sight of him, that he gave him pro-

mises upon the spot of promotion; these were not thought of afterwards, till being represented by another person to the Empress Queen, and allowed by Count Daun, she personally asked him, in the presence of the whole court, if he had any particular request to make: upon which he asked his discharge, and a piece of this waste to cultivate, being born in the parish. It was granted at once; and further, his sovereign built him the house and offices directly, and gave him an hundred pounds to stock the farm with. With this small beginning he went to work directly, and in nine years has raised every thing to the state I saw. His industry is unbounded: though a continued success has attended all his undertakings, and his crops prove as fine as possible, bringing him in large sums of money, yet he continues to work with the same severity as ever, and does much the greatest part of all the business of his farm with his own hands; he has a son about twenty-five who executes the rest. The Empress has been twice to see him, and expressed the highest approbation of his conduct, and made him a handsome present. His methods have been put in execution, under his own direction, upon the estates of two noblemen in the neighbourhood, and with good success;

cess; so that this worthy soldier is like to be of more benefit to his country than half a dozen generals; and shews that nothing is of more importance than to establish such examples as these in various parts of a dominion: for although they may spread slowly, yet they certainly will spread, and that they cannot do without being of very great public benefit.

By night I reached a little town called Munsbery, being half way to Lintz, at the distance of thirty miles from Poltu, through a country that is cultivated in a very different manner from the soldier's farm I had left, whose name (by the way) is Picco. The crops are in general bad and very full of weeds; and they seem to plough the soil very badly, although their ploughs are drawn by six oxen, and they have two men, or a man and a lad, to drive them, with another man to hold the plough: it is evident from this that the price of labour is low, or the farmer, that is the nobility, could not allow such a superfluity of hands; but while the time of the peasants belongs to their lords, without any pay, such instances will be very common; but the whole system makes a very different figure from my friend Picco's, whose farm is a contrast to the whole archduchy. They cultivate many hops, saffron, and vines, and

these articles exhaust all their lands applied to common husbandry of the dung which they ought to have, without yielding a return proportioned. Picco, when I asked him why he did not cultivate these articles, assured me that none of them equalled common crops in profit, provided the latter were managed in the manner they ought to be; and of this I ought to have no doubt, for all these uncommon articles require a great deal of attention, and an infinity of labour, especially vines, while the produce is of such a bad sort that the returns are inconsiderable. Near Lintz the country improves much, being in itself finely variegated with hills and dales, wood and water; it is also better cultivated: there is a very little waste land, and many seats of the nobility are scattered about it, attracted, I suppose, by the agreeableness of the country.

Lintz is extremely well situated on the banks of the Danube: it is small, well built, and a neat place; the streets well paved, and kept very clean. What sets off the buildings in an unusual manner, is the materials of which they are raised, being a white stone that preserves its colour. The market-place is large and handsome, and is adorned with two fountains. The Empress has a palace here, well furnished, which from an high situation overlooks the course of the Danube
very

very beautifully: she used to come here often, but has not of late years. The Jesuits college is one of the best buildings in the place, and the library has the reputation of being remarkably well chosen. This place is the capital of Upper Austria, for the states assemble no where else. For its size, it is very populous, which is owing to some manufactures they have that are flourishing, particularly that of woollen goods, and of silk and worsted; also gun-barrels, for which they are famous. The wool they work up is that of Austria, and much comes from Bohemia; all the fabricks employ 6, or 700 hands.

The 5th I got to Newberg in Bavaria, the distance forty miles. This line of country is all very agreeable, from the inequalities of the ground, and its open groves, with many rivers; nor is it wanting in numerous little towns and villages, the neighbourhood of the Danube drawing many inhabitants, by the constant trade carried on upon it; and by the numerous boats, barges, floops, &c. which pass and repass upon all sorts of business. I observed hops, saffron, and vines were common culture, and some flax, which is made into coarse linens in the neighbouring towns. Newberg is a little place, but very well built, and remarkably clean. The Elector Palatine is sovereign of the duchy, of which it is the capital;

capital; and has a small palace here, which however contains nothing worth seeing. The Jesuits church is the best public edifice in the place. The only trade of Newberg is wine, but very little of it is good; several sorts are sold so cheap as three halfpence a quart.

The 6th I reached Muldorf, the distance fifty miles, through a very fine, populous, and well cultivated country being part of the Electorate of Bavaria. There seems through this line of country, to be more industry, activity and happiness, than in any I had passed for a long while; and yet the peasants are in a state of villainage as well as elsewhere, but they are treated in a kinder manner, have more property and better houses; and many of them are also farmers, who by industry and frugality have saved money, and find out the means of disposing of it to good advantage. Much of this country is enclosed, than which there cannot be any improvement of so much consequence; and the present Elector has given many privileges and encouragements to all who enclose their farms, as well as exempting them from antient customs and rights, which were extremely injurious to open lands. There are many vineyards in this country, and the wine is better than that of Austria. Sheep seem to be a principal article in their husbandry; they keep great numbers, and of a better

a better breed than common; which I am told was originally owing to procuring some rams from Flanders. They yield large fleeces, and there are many manufactories for working up the the wool, which receive great encouragement from the government. Every farm of any size, (that is, every division of an estate that is under a distinct steward or bailiff) has a large sheep-house, with a roof, but open on one side to the south; in this house they fold their sheep every night the whole year round, and depend on it principally for manuring their lands: when they begin to fold, they spread over the floor light virgin soil, turf, sand, or peat earth, and fold upon it till it is very moist and dirty; then they make a fresh layer, and so go on; but to every eighteen inches of depth, (for they remove the heap but once a year) they litter with straw; and in extreme wet or snowy weather they do the same. This is upon the whole an excellent system for raising manure, and is a Flemish custom, though with one or two variations: but I should think the sheep lying upon such a dunghill would be prejudicial to their health; however, the Bavarians assert the contrary, and say that the health of the animal does not suffer in the least; and that the wool is much better than it would be if the sheep were exposed to the weather.

Muldorf

Muldorf is a little town, agreeably situated, and regularly fortified, but is not a place of any great strength; the streets are broad, strait, and well built, and the market-place spacious, and surrounded with several buildings that are a great ornament to it. There are several churches and convents, but none that contain any thing remarkable.

The 7th I got to Munich, the distance seven and thirty miles, and the country agreeable and well cultivated: there are many more nobility who reside constantly on their lands in this country, than in any I have seen in Germany; and to this I attribute the advantage of the superior cultivation: for as the nobles are the farmers, it is no wonder that estates there are managed better under the master's eye than in his absence. Although there are not many of them that are proficient in agriculture, yet a life passed in the midst of its business, must yield a greater knowledge of its circumstances than one which is entirely employed in the parade of a court. Besides, there can be little doubt but the nobles themselves treat their peasants better than the race of bailiffs, agents, &c. who usually oppress and squeeze them the more, in order to have the better opportunity of enriching themselves; and I find it evident, wherever I have been in Germany, that the
landlords

landlords are the richest, and their estates the best cultivated, where the peasants are allowed some degree of liberty and property. The happier that race of people, the better for the nobles; the latter will not in all cases be brought to believe this, but nothing admits of clearer proof.

Their corn through this track of country looked very well; and I observed particularly, that their fallows intended for next year were well ploughed, and clean; whereas they are full of weeds in many parts of Germany, and made such bad management as I had seen in Austria. The soil here is a rich loam, with some light tracks: they plough chiefly with oxen. They fallow their lands for wheat, and then sow barley; after the barley, they take pease or buck-wheat, and then turneps, or cabbages; but they do not sow any clover which the Austrian soldier, and all Flanders and Brabant, find so profitable. Wheat yields two quarters and an half per acre, barley three, and buck-wheat four; and their turneps and cabbages are applied to feeding their cattle and sheep; but all are housed in winter.

Munich I think, without exception, is the finest city in Germany; Dresden, while in its grandeur, I am told surpassed it; and some parts of Berlin are very beautiful, but, all things considered, they now yield to this place.

It

It is situated on the river Iser, which dividing into several channels, waters all parts of the town: so that little streams run thro' many of the streets, confined in stone channels, which have almost clean and agreeable effect. The streets, squares, and courts are spacious and airy, which set off all the buildings much, and make them appear finer than others much more costly in other cities. The streets in particular are so strait, that many of them intersect each other at right-angles, and are very broad, and extremely well built. There are sixteen churches and monasteries in it, many of them very handsome edifices; these, with the electoral palace, and other public buildings, take up near half the city, so that it may easily be supposed the place is in general very well built.

The principal of all these public edifices is the electoral palace, which is rather a convenient than an elegant building. It is very large, having four courts in it, and all of them large; but there is a want of finishing in the insides of all the places in Germany that cannot fail disgusting an Englishman, who has been used to see the houses of the nobility in his own country finished to the garrets as compleatly as a snuff-box; and certainly it is a most agreeable circumstance. In the palace of Munich the finest room, which is the grand hall,

hall, being an hundred and eighteen feet long by fifty two broad, is open to the roof, so as entirely to destroy the effect which would result from such a size if finished: birds fly about it as in a barn, and drop their favours on the heads of the company as they pass: I have in Germany seen many instances of unfinished equal to this. There is a great profusion of marble in the several apartments, but it is not wrought in an agreeable manner. The furniture is in general old; it has been very rich, but has nothing in it striking; nor is the collection of pictures comparable to many others in Germany. The Museum is well filled with many curiosities; of which, as Keyser gives a list, I shall say no more of them. The Jesuits college is among the finest buildings belonging to the church: it is very spacious. The great church, and the Franciscans monastery, are also worth seeing; the latter order is possessed of very great revenues. Several palaces of the nobility make a very good figure, and the town-house is better than many I have seen. The number of inhabitants is computed at fifty thousand.

The palaces most worth seeing are the Elector's country ones of Sleisheim and Nymphenburg, near Munich. Sleisheim is a fine building, and much better finished than that
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of Munich; the portico supported by marble pillars is fine: in the apartments, which are furnished in an agreeable manner, is a very good collection of pictures, but they are chiefly by Flemish masters. Nymphenburg exhibits a German taste of gardening in perfection, the Bavarians holding them to be the finest in the empire; the situation, wood, and water would admit of something beautiful, but here is nothing but the old-fashioned fountains, statues, monsters, &c.

It is thought by most persons at Munich, as well as in other parts of Germany, that the electorate of Bavaria has thoroughly recovered the mischiefs it suffered in the war of 1744, and is now as rich and as populous as ever. The electoral revenues are reckoned to amount to six hundred thousand pounds a year, and are improving: the standing army consists of eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse; but the Bavarians say, their prince could bring forty thousand men into the field: however, it is certain, that if he could bring them there, he could not maintain them, without their being in the pay of foreigners. While the house of Bavaria continues on good terms with that of Austria, there is no danger of its suffering by the electorate being again made the seat of war.

F I N I S.

